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A

FAIR REPRESENTATION
OF THE
PRESENT POLITICAL STATE
OF
IRELAND;

IN A COURSE OF STRICTURES ON TWO
PAMPHLETS,

ONE ENTITLED

'THE CASE OF IRELAND RE-CONSIDERED;'

THE OTHER ENTITLED

'CONSIDERATIONS ON THE STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
IN THE YEAR 1799,—IRELAND;'

WITH

Observations on other modern Publications on the Subject of
AN INCORPORATING UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND,

Particularly on a Pamphlet entitled

'THE SPEECH OF LORD MINTO IN THE HOUSE
OF PEERS, APRIL 11, 1799.'

BY PATRICK DUIGENAN, L. L. D.
ONE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITY OF ARMAUGH
IN PARLIAMENT.

THE THIRD EDITION.

Semper ego auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties?—JUV. SAT. I.

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Dublin,

Dublin, Dec. 9, 1799.

THERE is a small inaccuracy, which the author has been informed of since the first publication of his work, in the short account of the operations of the garrison of Kilkenny against the Rebels. A great body of Rebels, who had escaped from Vinegar Hill, by a rapid march reached the small town of Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny, about twelve miles from the city of Kilkenny. Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded the King's troops in that city, marched out to attack them; but before he could come up with them, they had plundered and burned part of the town, and retreated hastily into the mountains behind it: so that Sir Charles did not decline attacking them at Castlecomer, as stated. *See page 91.*

ERRATA.

- Page 26, line 6, for *alleged* read *alleged*.
Page 65, line 14, for *did abrogate* read *did not abrogate*.
Page 71, line 23, for *of Ireland* read *of the people of Ireland*.
Page 80, line 18, for *these Catholics* read *the then Catholics*.
Page 98, line 24, for *alleging* read *alleging*.
Page 104, line 11, for *not* read *not one*.
Page 126, line 3, for *oaths* read *oath*.
Page 129, line 20, for *propriety of the* read *propriety of prohibiting the*.
Page 137, line 21, for *alleged* read *alleged*.
Page 108, line 11, for *their subjects* read *their fellow-subjects*.

A FAIR

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FAIR REPRESENTATION
OF THE
PRESENT POLITICAL STATE
OF
IRELAND.

AN Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland is a Measure, the magnitude and importance of which have not only engaged the most serious consideration of the subjects of the British Empire, but have attracted the attention of many of the other states of Europe, as well friends as enemies.

Although I have been for many years the avowed friend of the measure, and in the year 1793 declared in the Irish House of Commons my settled opinion on the subject, and was then the only man who did so, stating at the same time some of the reasons on which my opinion was founded; and although I have, by the occurrences of every day since, been more and more confirmed in my sentiments upon it, and convinced not only of the expediency, but of the necessity of the measure; yet I do not mean to trouble my readers with any arguments on the subject:

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my design in the present publication is, to expose the base falsehoods and malignant misrepresentations of the State of Ireland, contained in some pamphlets which have lately appeared, professedly written on the subject of the Union, but in truth for a very different purpose ; and to add a few observations on other pamphlets published in England, as the substance of Speeches spoken in the British Houses of Parliament, on the subject of an Incorporating Union, by men in the highest stations in Britain ; from which it would seem, that these great men entertained very erroneous ideas of the Present State of Ireland, and of the Strength, Views, and Interests of the different classes of its inhabitants : and I am not without hope that I may, by fair and honest representations, conduce to the success of a measure, which has for many years been the object of all my feeble exertions in the political world.

In England the project of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland has been entertained with an almost universal approbation ; the good sense of the nation has clearly pointed out to every honest mind, the manifest advantages to the British Empire in general of such a measure ; it has been there opposed only by a handful of Jacobins. In Ireland the case is different ; it has been there opposed by many men of great loyalty, abilities, and rank, and has given rise to much discontent and dissension among persons of the first political influence. It is remarkable, however, in Ireland, that all traitors and Jacobins are unanimous in their reprobation of the measure, while the well-affected are divided in their opinions, some (I think the majority) approving, and others disapproving of it. Perhaps I may be in some measure able in the conclusion to account for this difference of opinion

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among the Irish Loyalists ; at present, however, it is sufficient to remark, that their dissension has given an advantage to the Jacobins which they have eagerly availed themselves of. All their conspiracies detected, their false treasonable libels exposed and confuted, their rebellion suppressed, their French allies chased out of the ocean, they lay grovelling on the earth, disabled, dismayed, and dejected, till the heat of this contest between their conquerors on the subject of the Union again vivified them, as the heat of the sun does the insects on a dunghill ; again the buzz of these hornets was heard in every part of the nation ; and of all their nests, Popery sent forth the busiest and most numerous swarms.

A class of writers of that persuasion have of late been indefatigable both in England and Ireland, in publishing the most audacious falsehoods respecting Irish Protestants, their religious and political conduct, principles, numbers, strength, and influence ; nor are their falsehoods less daring and notorious respecting the same qualities in the Irish Romanists, debasing and vilifying the first class, and magnifying the last, with the most singular contempt of truth. No artifice of malignant misrepresentation, of slander, of degradation on the one side, or of applause, celebration, aggrandizement, and exaggeration on the other, has been omitted.

These writers never entertained the least hope that their calumnies would gain any credit in Ireland ; their falsehood was too notorious there : they published them for the meridian of England, where the ignorance of the bulk of the nation of the real state of Ireland might cause a temporary belief of fictions so boldly and so impudently

stated: this temporary belief in the present crisis they knew they could turn to the advantage of the political pursuits of their sect; because it would naturally incline the leading men in the British Administration to favour their ruinous claims in the negotiation of an Union of the two nations, and enable the Irish Romanists to obtain a support in the treaty for pretensions radically inimical to every Protestant government, but more particularly so, where part of the sovereignty is a popular assembly; and this treaty might be brought to a conclusion before the British nation should be apprized on what a rotten foundation their pretensions were erected.

The degradation and abuse of the Irish Protestants by these Romish writers, and vaunts of the strength and importance of their own sect, were particularly adapted to alienate the minds of the British Protestants from their brethren in Ireland, and to induce them to acquiesce, perhaps to assist, in the subversion of the Protestant establishment in that kingdom, which if they can once effect, they very justly consider that the scheme of the Separation of the two countries will be more than half accomplished, though a treaty for an Union shall be concluded: the Protestants of Ireland, as the Romanists well know, composing the principal links of the chain of connexion between the two nations.

I should have left these malicious Romish fables to merited contempt and oblivion, nor would I have condescended to have taken the slightest notice of them, had I not perceived, from reading the substance of certain Speeches of very eminent personages, delivered in the British Houses of Lords and Commons, lately published on
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the subject of Union, that the gross falsehoods and misrepresentations of these Romish writers had been adopted by these great men, and that they had been so far duped by them, as to repeat them in the British Senate, and to reason upon them, as if they had been facts ; grounding some of their arguments in favour of an Union on such deceitful phantoms conjured up by these magicians of fraud and malice, and deserting the powerful, convincing, and irrefragable arguments for an Incorporating Union, grounded on the situation and present connexion of the two islands, the state of Europe in general, and the manifest benefits which must necessarily accrue to each island in particular, and to the British empire in general, from such an Union ; and thereby raising in the breasts of all the Protestants of that empire, the faithful subjects of his Majesty, the most alarming apprehensions of innovation in their constitution both in church and state, and rendering Irish Protestants particularly, in whom is for the present vested, exclusively, the whole political power of that kingdom, disinclined to an Union, by giving them cause to suspect that such an Union is projected solely for the depression of their religion in Ireland, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins.

Two of these pamphlets, manifestly the productions of Romish writers, though they have concealed their names, I shall particularly notice, because they contain a general collection of all the falsehood and misrepresentation respecting the state of Ireland, the numbers, physical and political strength, the influence, principles, and designs of the different classes of its inhabitants, which have been published in all the pamphlets, magazines, reviews, annual registers, newspapers, &c. by Romish writers and their allies, the Infidels, Republicans, and Jacobins, from

the time Mr. Edmund Burke, the modern apostle of Popery, began his operations for the subversion of the Protestant religion in Ireland, to the present day. One of these pamphlets is entitled, '*The Case of Ireland Reconsidered, in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled, "Arguments for and against an Union considered."*' The other is entitled, '*Considerations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799—Ireland.*' The author of the first of these performances pretends to argue against the Union of the two kingdoms; the author of the second, to support it with the utmost zeal; but the real purpose of both is, to degrade, vilify, and traduce the Protestant, and magnify aggrandize, and elevate the Romish inhabitants of Ireland, by every species of falsehood, misrepresentation, and malice.

The reputed author of the first is a Romish gentleman of a competent landed estate in Ireland,—

I have

I have stated this gentleman to be a Romanist; indeed he states himself, in p. 58 of his pamphlet, to be so; and I may be perhaps accused of inconsistency in supposing any man, instituted as he has been, to be a Romanist, which implies his being a Christian: to clear myself of any imputation of that kind, it is necessary that I should briefly explain my meaning, which I cannot do better than by nearly copying part of Swift's character of the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Wharton, in his History of the Four last Years of Queen Ann: he there observes, that the Earl's father was a rigid Presbyterian, that the Earl adopted his father's principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its room, but that in all other respects he was a firm Presbyterian. Now the gentleman's father I am writing of was a rigid Romanist; he dropt his father's religion, and took up no other in its room, but in all other respects he is a firm Romanist. And such a character is not singular; I have wasted some attention on several persons bred Romanists, who have conformed to the Protestant religion, and who have attained honourable, confidential, and lucrative appointments by their conformity; and on others bred in that persuasion, who both in theory and practice have professed Deism; and scarce ever knew one of them, who, in all political pursuits of that sect, did not prove himself to be a firm Romanist: some of them, in whose breasts a few half-smothered sparks of Christianity still glimmered,

glimmered, have had them kindled into a sort of lambent flame of devotion by the unequivocal symptoms of approaching death, and they have uniformly died in the Romish persuasion.

The author of the second pamphlet I have mentioned is not ascertained ; many have been the candidates, proclaimed by the posterior trumpet of Fame, for the eminent turpitude of being the parent of this detestable production. The author of the first endeavours to conceal the natural deformity of falsehood and malice, by clothing them in something of a gentlemanly garb ; the author of the second aggravates that natural deformity, by arraying them in all the shaggy horrors of the savage : his unrelenting malignant abuse of Irish Protestants, from the beginning to the end of his performance, sufficiently demonstrates his political creed at least to be the same with that of the author of the first pamphlet. But I have perhaps detained the reader too long by personal remarks on these two authors ; I will therefore now proceed to examine the contents of their pamphlets.

The author of the first grounds all his arguments, for advancing Irish Romanists to an equality of political power in the British empire in general with their Protestant fellow-subjects, on two positions. The first and principal is, *that men sincerely attached to the whole Romish creed may be as good and faithful subjects of the British empire as Protestants.* The second is, *that property by the British Constitution entitles the possessors to political power in proportion to the property, and that it is therefore unconstitutional to exclude Romanists from a share of political power in the state proportioned to their property.* These are the two grand

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ment of the
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on the
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entitled,
The Case
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grand pillars on which he proposes to rebuild the gaudy palace of Romish tyranny and usurpation in the British empire, at the same time not neglecting to prop it with numberless buttresses of menaces, slanders, malice, falsehood, sophistry, and deceit.

His argument on the first of these propositions he introduces in the following modest manner :

‘ The next is a very old objection, *which I never could understand how any well-informed man could make twice.*

‘ The most numerous religious sect (i. e. Romanists) does not acknowledge the supremacy of the state, but professes to be subject to a foreign jurisdiction. Their religion could not be established without destroying the constitution, which is founded on the principles of civil and ecclesiastical liberty, and the exclusion of foreign interference and jurisdiction.’

After thus stating the objection, and with no small degree of petulance observing that no well-informed man could support it, or urge it twice, he argues thus: ‘ This may be an objection to their having a religious establishment, but not to their being admitted to a share in the Legislature, the King and Peers being Protestants, and (property being the basis of representation) nine-tenths of the House of Commons. *Romanists do not deny the sole right of the state to manage the concerns, establishment, faith, and discipline of the Church of England; but they do not admit the King of England to be spiritual head of the Roman Catholic Church, nor do the Presbyterians admit him to be the head of theirs.* This was not a reason
‘ son

' son for excluding the Scotch from a share in the legis-
 ' lature of the country they were united to ; why should
 ' it exclude the Irish ? The spiritual authority which
 ' the Romish Church possesses has no sanction, no co-
 ' ercive power in this life, and can in no way come in
 ' contact with civil existence. *The Pope nominates the*
 ' *Irish Romish bishops*, but this gives him no real or essen-
 ' tial jurisdiction in the Irish state ; he and the whole
 ' Roman Catholic Church have not in the Irish state,
 ' nor pretend to have, the power of the meanest vestry.
 ' Cujas, a French lawyer, and Cardinal Fleury, have
 ' declared, that the Pope, nor the whole Church to-
 ' gether, cannot inflict any coercive punishment on any
 ' man, whatsoever his crimes may be, unless the Em-
 ' peror gives him power to do it. The power which
 ' *Popes have been accused of arrogating over the princes of*
 ' Europe was entirely foreign to their spiritual authority,
 ' and to the Roman Catholic religion. In no country in
 ' the world can any tribunal exist deriving from the
 ' Roman Catholic religion, or any sentence be enforced
 ' affecting a man in any way whatsoever in his liberty,
 ' life, property, or any part of his civil or natural ex-
 ' istence, without the permission of the Sovereign of
 ' that country : such is the doctrine of Spain, Portugal,
 ' and all the Roman Catholic countries in the world.
 ' Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, as well
 ' as the Statutes of Præmunire, which secured ecclesiastical
 ' liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parliaments. If a foreign
 ' jurisdiction exist, to that consent, and not to the Roman Catholic religion, of
 ' which it is no *inherent* part, are the inconveniencies of it
 ' to be ascribed.' All this the author concludes with an
 ' apposite and most delightful allusion, purloined from
 Monsieur

Monfieur Voltaire, with a trifling alteration ; to wit,
 ‘ Philosophy enters as much into the common concerns
 ‘ of life as divinity. It would be a ftrange objection to
 ‘ the fystem of Aristotle or Copernicus, that it was a
 ‘ foreign interference.’ Bravo !

Before I proceed to the expofure of this diffufive kind
 of argument, partly falfe and partly fophiftical, it will
 be neceffary to insert here the *Oath of Supremacy*, which
 all Romanifts abfolutely refuse to take, and have done fo
 fince the firft framing of it ; and alfo an Extract from
 the Decrees of a general Council, the decifions of which
 all Romanifts now hold as articles of faith, immutable
 and irreverfible, not being the decrees of Popes, but of
 their univerfal church ; the Oath taken by Romifh Bi-
 fhop at their confecration : and I fhall alfo add a few ex-
 tracts from the recent publications of their moft authentic
 writers refpecting the prefent immutable Articles of the
 Romifh Creed.

The Oath of Supremacy is as follows :

‘ I —— do fwear, that I do from my heart abhor,
 ‘ deteft, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damn-
 ‘ able doctrine and pofition, that Princes excommuni-
 ‘ cated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the
 ‘ See of Rome, may be depofed or murdered by their
 ‘ fubjects, or by any other perfon whatfoever : and I do
 ‘ declare, that no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Po-
 ‘ tentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurifdiction, power,
 ‘ fuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclefiaftical or
 ‘ fpiritual, within this realm. “ So help me God.”

Extract

Extract from the third Chapter of the fourth Council of Lateran, held under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, translated into English.

‘ We excommunicate and anathematize all heresy,
 ‘ raising itself up against the holy, orthodox, catholic
 ‘ faith, which we have above set forth, condemning all
 ‘ heretics, of whatsoever titles, having divers faces, but
 ‘ connected and knitted together by their tails; for in
 ‘ respect to the vanity of their pretensions they agree in
 ‘ the same thing.

‘ We leave the condemned to *condign punishment* by
 ‘ the present secular powers or their magistrates, such of
 ‘ them as are clergymen being first degraded: the
 ‘ goods of such of them as are laics being *confiscated*;
 ‘ of such as are clergymen, applied to the use of the
 ‘ churches of their respective cures.

‘ But we decree, that such as are only suspected of
 ‘ heresy be struck with the sword of excommunication,
 ‘ till they shall prove their innocence respectively, ac-
 ‘ cording to the nature of the suspicion and the quality
 ‘ of each person, by a proper purgation; and let them
 ‘ be avoided by all persons till they shall make sufficient
 ‘ satisfaction: and if they shall continue excommuni-
 ‘ cated for the space of one year, let them be considered
 ‘ as condemned heretics.

‘ Let all secular powers, whatsoever be the nature
 ‘ and rank of their respective offices, be admonished,
 ‘ persuaded, and, if necessary, *compelled*, by ecclesiastical
 ‘ censures, that as they desire to be reputed and esteemed
 ‘ faithful,

' faithful, they publicly take an oath, that they will, to
 ' the utmost of their power, endeavour *to exterminate* all
 ' such as shall be denounced heretics by the church, out
 ' of all their dominions and places subject to their jurif-
 ' diction; and let them take this oath respectively, the
 ' moment they shall be invested with either spiritual or
 ' temporal power.

' But if any temporal Lord shall neglect to purge his
 ' dominions of such heretical corruption, after being
 ' required and admonished by the Church, by his Me-
 ' tropolitan and his other provincial Bishops so to do,
 ' let him be immediately bound in the chains of excommuni-
 ' cation; and if he shall contumaciously refuse to make
 ' satisfaction and submit himself to the Church within
 ' the year, let this be signified to the Pope, who shall there-
 ' upon declare his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and
 ' proclaim his territories open to the just seizure and occu-
 ' pation of Catholic Powers, who, after they shall have ex-
 ' terminated the heretics, shall possess them without control,
 ' and preserve them in the purity of the faith, still preserv-
 ' ing the title of the principal Lord, provided he shall give
 ' them no interruption, or oppose any impediment to their
 ' proceedings; and let the same rule be observed with
 ' respect to those who have no principal lords, *i. e.*
 ' republics.

' Let all Catholics who shall undertake a *crusade* for
 ' the extermination of heretics have the same indulgence,
 ' and the same holy privilege, as those who undertake
 ' the crusade for the expulsion of the infidels from the
 ' Holy Land.

' We

' We decree, that not only those who profess heretical
 ' tenets, but all receivers, protectors, and favourers of
 ' heretics, are *ipso facto* excommunicated; and we
 ' strictly ordain and command, that after any such shall
 ' be publicly branded with excommunication, if they
 ' shall refuse to make satisfaction and submit themselves
 ' to the Church within a year, *they shall be infamous, nor*
 ' *shall they be admitted to any public office or council, nor to*
 ' *elect any persons to such, nor to give testimony in any cause;*
 ' *neither shall they be capable of making wills, nor of suc-*
 ' *cession, as heirs or representatives, to any estate: they shall*
 ' *be incapable of suing in any court, but may themselves be*
 ' *sued: if any such person shall happen to be a judge of any*
 ' *court, his sentence shall be null and void, nor shall any*
 ' *cause be prosecuted before him: if he shall happen to be an*
 ' *advocate, he shall not be admitted to practise; if a notary,*
 ' *instruments drawn up, prepared, witnessed, or executed by*
 ' *him, shall also be void and of no effect, but condemned*
 ' *with their guilty framer: and we command that the same*
 ' *rule be observed in all similar cases.* But if he be a
 ' clergyman, let him be deposed both *ab officio et beneficio*,
 ' that, as his crime is the greater, so the greater may
 ' be his punishment.

' And if any such, after they have been publicly de-
 ' nounced by the Church, shall contumaciously neglect
 ' to submit and make satisfaction, let them be compelled
 ' and driven to it by the incessant operation of the sen-
 ' tence of excommunication. Let no clergyman admi-
 ' nister to such pestilent wretches the sacraments of the
 ' Church, nor permit their bodies to Christian burial,
 ' nor receive their alms and oblations. If they shall act
 ' otherwise, let them be suspended from officiating, and
 ' let

let them not be restored but by the special indulgence of the Pope.

We also add, that every Archbishop or Bishop, by himself or his archdeacon, or other respectable persons, shall twice, or at least once, in every year, visit each parish in his diocese, in which it is reported that any heretics dwell, and shall there oblige three or more credible persons, or, if he shall think proper, the whole vicinage, to swear, that if any of them shall know any heretics, or any persons holding or frequenting secret conventicles, or affecting either in life or manners to differ from the common conversation and practice in life of the faithful, they will endeavour effectually to discover and point them out to the Bishop; and the Bishop shall call the accused into his presence, and if they shall not effectually purge themselves from the crimes laid to their charge, or if, after they shall have made their purgation, they shall perfidiously relapse into their former guilt, they shall be canonically punished. And if any, through damnable obstinacy declining to bind themselves by the religious obligation of an oath, shall perhaps refuse to swear, let them be from that instant reputed heretics.

The Oath sworn by every Romish Bishop at his consecration is as follows. See the first vol. of Burnet's History of the Reformation, p. 123.

I, —, Bishop of —, do swear, that from this hour forward I shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel

' counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or
 ' member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence or
 ' any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me cre-
 ' dited by them, their messages or letters, I shall not
 ' willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of
 ' Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the *regality*
 ' of St. Peter, I shall help, maintain, and defend against
 ' all men. The Legate of the See apostolic, going and
 ' coming, I shall honourably entreat: the rights, ho-
 ' nours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of
 ' Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall
 ' cause to be conserved, defended, *augmented, and pro-*
 ' *moted.* I shall not be in council, treaty, or any act,
 ' in which any thing shall be imagined against him or
 ' the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honours, or
 ' powers; and if I know any such to be moved or com-
 ' passed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I
 ' can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him
 ' knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees,
 ' ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, pro-
 ' visions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I
 ' shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. *Heretics,*
 ' *schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors,*
 ' *I shall resist and persecute to my power.* I shall come to
 ' the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a
 ' canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles
 ' I shall visit yearly, personally or by my deputy. I shall
 ' not alienate or sell my possessions without the Pope's
 ' counsel. So help me God and the holy Evangelists.*

In 1793, Dr. Troy, Romish Archbishop of Dublin,
 published a pamphlet, which he styled ' A Pastoral Let-
 ' ter:' it is in truth a political tract, containing argu-
 c ments

ments not a little hostile to the established constitution in church and state. He endeavours to prove the justice, expediency, and even necessity of the admission of Romanists into the Legislature, and into all offices of trust and confidence; and takes special care to support, not without some degree of address, his arguments, by menaces of the effects which he insinuates must flow from the numbers and puissance of the Irish Romanists, magnified by him infinitely beyond reality. Any reasonable man would expect that the Doctor would have endeavoured rather to extenuate than openly to assert and justify the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, which he knew Protestants held to be one great impediment to the admission of the Romish claims; but it is quite otherwise. In page 31 of this pretended Pastoral Letter is the following passage: ‘ It is a *fundamental article* of the Roman Catholic faith, that the Pope or Bishop of Rome is successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, in that See; he enjoys by divine right a spiritual and ecclesiastical primacy, not only of honour and rank, but of *real jurisdiction and authority*, in the universal church. Roman Catholics conceive this point as clearly established in the scriptures, and by the constant tradition of the Fathers in every age, as it is by the *express decisions of their general councils, which they consider as infallible authority in points of doctrine.*’

Same author, page 97.—‘ Catholics cannot conscientiously abjure the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Rome. He is guardian of the general canons, and can alone dispense with them *proprio jure, or by inherent right*. Others enjoy that power by delegation from him. The erection, suppression, and
‘ union

‘ union of bishoprics and other benefices; the elevation
 ‘ of sees to the metropolitical dignity and jurisdiction;
 ‘ the institution of general fasts and holidays; dispensa-
 ‘ tions from their observance; the regulation and in-
 ‘ spection of our liturgy; *appeals from inferior ecclesiasti-*
 ‘ *cal courts to his supreme tribunal; the suspension and*
 ‘ *restoration of bishops, and numberless other particulars of*
 ‘ *our general church discipline mentioned in the canons,*
 ‘ depend on the Pope as our ecclesiastical superior, and
 ‘ are connected with his primacy of jurisdiction in the
 ‘ universal church. *Henry VIII. of England was the first*
 ‘ *Christian prince that assumed ecclesiastical supremacy, and*
 ‘ *commanded an enslaved Parliament to enact it as a law of*
 ‘ *the state. The Catholics consider it an usurpation.*’

Same author, page 102.—‘ The Catholic laity of
 ‘ Ireland respect their clergy, and consider it a duty to
 ‘ be regulated by their determinations in all points of
 ‘ religious doctrine. They are attached to their pastors
 ‘ and spiritual guides, who love them as their children
 ‘ in Christ. *Clergy and laity are united by the most tender*
 ‘ *and interesting considerations. Every effort to dissolve this*
 ‘ *union must prove ineffectual; interest and duty continue to*
 ‘ *render it indissoluble. In adversity and prosperity they*
 ‘ *must rise and fall together.*’

The same author, in another place, states, ‘ that the
 ‘ religious principles of Roman Catholics being un-
 ‘ changeable, they are applicable to all times.’

It is needless here to insert any other extracts from
 recent publications of Romish writers; I shall barely
 observe, that the same doctrines are held in a modern

publication of Mr. Hufsey, a Romish priest, who informs us in it, that he had been appointed Bishop of Waterford by the Pope. This publication he also styles a Pastoral Letter, though it is perhaps as seditious a publication as any which has appeared in modern times, provoking the Irish Romanists to insurrection, and drawing a line of eternal demarcation between them and their Protestant fellow-subjects, supported by the whole Romish host of anathemas and excommunications.

I will now proceed to answer the argument of the author of the '*Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' in support of his first position, to wit, *that men sincerely attached to the whole Romish creed may be as good and faithful subjects of the British empire as Protestants, and consequently as safely admissible to the supreme legislative and superior executive capacities.* His diffusive argument on this head, already mentioned, may be thus condensed: ' In a
' Romish state, the supremacy of the Church, or its
' spiritual authority, has no sanction, no coercive power
' in this life, and can in no way come in contact with
' civil existence; nor can its tribunal exist, so as to affect
' any man in his liberty, life, or property, without the
' permission of the sovereign of that country; and if a
' foreign jurisdiction exists in such country, it is to the
' consent of the sovereign power, and not to the Roman
' Catholic religion, of which it is no inherent part, it is
' to be ascribed. In a Protestant state, such as Ireland,
' the King, Peers, and nine tenths of the Commons
' being Protestants, the consent of the state never can be
' obtained to the exercise of Romish ecclesiastical jurisdiction; therefore in such state no mischief can arise
' from the Romish tenet of the supremacy of the Pope,
' though

‘ though Romanists should sit in Parliament, and be admitted to the highest offices of the state.’ Though the premises in this syllogistic argument be admitted to be true, yet the conclusion will by no means follow, that no mischief will arise in a Protestant state by the admission of Romanists into the supreme legislative body, and to the exercise of the highest executive offices of the state, as I shall hereafter prove; yet the premises require examination. The major proposition, to wit, *the spiritual authority of the Pope not being an inherent part of the Romish religion, has no sanction, and cannot be exercised even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state*, is extremely sophistical; it consists in fact of two propositions; the first is, *the spiritual authority of the Pope is not an inherent part of the Romish religion*. This proposition is already clearly proved to be false, by the extracts from the Lateran Council, and from Doctor Troy, and by the rejection of the Oath of Supremacy by all Romanists. The second part of it, *that this authority has no sanction in this life, and cannot be exercised, even in Romish states, but by the consent of the state*, requires explanation.

In a Romish state, the sovereign power, whether it be a monarchy or a republic, being vested in Romanists, its consent to the execution of the decrees of their own church, of which they admit the Pope to be supreme head, is certain. Romish monarchs, and governing members of Romish republics, are, by the tenets of their religion, bound, not only to consent to the execution, but to execute the decrees of their church, as well on the persons as on the properties of their subjects: hence in Romish states the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals amplifies itself into the exercise of a most ex-

tensive temporal jurisdiction, the state either resigning to ecclesiastical officers the execution of the decrees of the Church on the persons and properties of its subjects, or becoming itself the executioner of such decrees: for instance, in most Romish countries, such as the Church deems heretics, or even suspects of being so, are imprisoned by ecclesiastical officers in ecclesiastical prisons, and they are burned by temporal officers when the Church pronounces them heretics irreclaimable, and delivers them over to the secular arm; as was the case in England before the Reformation and during the reign of Queen Mary: therefore in Romish countries, the Church of Rome, and its supreme head the Pope, have real jurisdiction, efficient tribunals, and sanctions to their decrees of the most powerful efficacy; and their decrees reach to, and are executed upon, the liberties, lives, and properties, and most of the temporal concerns of the subjects; and such states are themselves the executioners of their decrees. This jurisdiction is an inherent part of the Roman Catholic religion, and its title is founded in the very essence of that religion. Dr. Troy states, ‘ that
 ‘ the real jurisdiction and authority of the Pope is clearly
 ‘ established by the scriptures and the constant tradition
 ‘ of the Fathers, and the express decisions of general
 ‘ councils, which Roman Catholics consider as infallible
 ‘ authority: *it is a fundamental article of the Roman Catholic faith.*’ This doctrine is conformable to the Lateran Council, and to the opinions of all Romish writers, ancient or modern, on the subject. If a Romish state should refuse to execute the decrees of the Romish Church in what are deemed spiritual matters, such as heresy, and many others extending to the liberties, lives, and properties of the subjects, which are certainly temporal concerns,

concerns, such states would cease to be Roman Catholic. In such states it is of no moment whether such power or jurisdiction be exercised by the Church itself, or by the temporal power under the orders and direction of the Church, or by the permission of the temporal power, as long as the acquiescence and obedience of the temporal power are ensured by the very tenets of their religion.

The Romish doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters is supported in effect and operation by Romish states, however in political theory statesmen or lawyers may sometimes presume partially to dissent from it, admitting it in practice, and being themselves its executioners. But in a Protestant state, such a tenet directly militates against the very existence of the state, is utterly inconsistent with the nature and essence of the government, and contrary to its vital principles, both in theory and practice. In Romish states, the exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope in all spiritual matters, so far as the cognizance of the cause and pronouncing sentence, either in the first instance or on appeal, is admitted to exist; but, says this author, he is not permitted to execute his sentence, where it affects temporals, without the approbation of the temporal sovereignty of the Romish states; therefore his supremacy is not admitted in such states. This is a miserable sophism; for as long as such states continue Romish, they are bound by the tenets of their religion to execute, and do execute his sentences, affecting both the lives and properties of their subjects, that is, their temporal concerns and interests, and do thereby effectually admit his supremacy, and become his ministers, servants, and executioners.

As to the minor proposition of this author's syllogistic argument, to wit, *that in Ireland, a Protestant state, the consent of the state cannot be procured to the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Romish Church, and of its head the Pope*; I believe it is now true, and I hope it will always continue so; because I hope our rulers in this Protestant British empire never will be induced by falsehood, fraud, and sophistry, to transfer to Romanists the political power of the state, which they would not, nor could not, if they continued Romanists, fail to use for the introduction of their own faith as orthodox, and the suppression of the Protestant faith as heretical, and consequently for the establishment of the Pope's supremacy among their other religious errors. To give this minor proposition the effect which this author intends, it is not sufficient that it be admitted to be now true, but it must be supposed that in Ireland it will always continue true, that is, that though Romanists be admitted into the supreme legislative and executive authorities of the state, yet they never will be able, on account of their present weakness and poverty, to overturn the Protestant establishment, and consequently that it cannot be hurtful to the state to admit them. This is at best a negative argument; it does not tend to prove that it would be useful to the state to admit them, but that it would not be pernicious or detrimental to do so; and it at the same time, in some measure, admits, that if they were powerful it would be dangerous for Protestants to admit them, and consequently that Protestants have a good right to believe that they would use any political power they may acquire, for the subversion of the present establishment; and this the author more explicitly admits in more than one passage, intimating to Irish Protestants, that if they will admit Romanists to
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the supreme legislative and executive capacities, they may have the guaranty of England for the security of their church establishment; that is, in other words, 'Your church establishment, which in the present constitution of the state is secure, will be rendered insecure by your admission of us into the supreme legislative and executive capacities; and in that case you must apply to your friend and neighbour for that security which you had in your own hands, but which you have foolishly relinquished.' And this argument he makes use of, when he is apparently endeavouring to dissuade the Irish nation from consenting to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and consequently to loosen the bands of connexion of the two countries.

The conclusion, however, drawn by this author from these premises, is not warranted by them, though the truth of the premises be admitted; for, even in that case, it can be proved that much mischief may arise to the Protestant state of Ireland from the admission of Romanists to the legislative and highest executive capacities; and first from this author's own statement. In the second page of his pamphlet he states the proportion of Irish Romanists to Irish Protestants to be four or five to one. This is a gross exaggeration; but I am now arguing from his own assertions. In a commercial country, property is continually changing hands: landed estates, where there is no restraint of alienation, change masters, not so rapidly as personal property, but though in a slower, yet not less certain progression: in the course of trade, the industrious and indigent are continually emerging into opulence; landed property in this country is every day at market, and by purchase comes to the possession

possession of the successful merchant, mechanic, and farmer: hence if in Ireland the mass of the people, that is, five to one, be Romanists, though at present the bulk of the property of the nation be in the hands of Protestants, yet it will shift into those of Romanists, by a progression certain, and, considering the alledged disproportion of numbers, not very slow. The Irish Romanists have been very lately admitted to every civil franchise enjoyed by the Irish Protestants, except to the capacity of sitting in Parliament, and of occupying about thirty of the greatest offices of the state; they are even rendered capable of becoming members of all corporations in the kingdom. If then they shall be admitted to sit in Parliament, they must at a period not very distant, as property, admitted by this author to be the basis of representation, shifts to their scale, be the representatives in Parliament of all the counties, and of all the boroughs distinguished by the name of pot-walloping, and, by less rapid degrees, of all or most of the other boroughs in the kingdom; that is, they will in a short time compose the whole, or at least a vast majority of the House of Commons. Their Peers (at present indeed very few) will sit in the House of Lords; so that in our supreme legislative body they will form one, and infinitely the most powerful branch, and have a considerable influence in the second, and will have power sufficient to force the third or regal branch to a compliance with all their schemes, and oblige it to fill all the great offices of the state with Romanists, and introduce as many of them as may amount to a majority into the House of Peers. Hence it is obvious, from this author's own statement, that by admitting Romanists to form part of the supreme legislative power of the state, they will by degrees swallow up the whole,

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awe the executive into their measures, and subvert the Protestant establishment in Ireland from the foundation; for a Romanist is bound, by the tenets of his religion, to the best of his power to exterminate all heretics, and destroy all heretical establishments; and this author will not, I believe, deny, that all Romanists hold all Protestants to be heretics; and as he is also by the same religion bound to establish it in the room of the one subverted, and to execute the decrees of the Church of Rome and of its head the Pope, the supremacy in spirituals, to which a vast temporal power is annexed, and from which it is inseparable, will be in effect and reality torn from the state, and vested in the Pope, with his consistory, nuncios, and ministers; and the halcyon days of Queen Mary, and of the bonfires and triumphs of Popery, will return; the writ *de Heretico comburendo* will again receive the sanction of Parliament. Such is the statement by which this author endeavours to persuade Irish Protestants to betray the political power of the state, and the security of their own lives and properties, into Romish hands!

But waving all advantage which the gross exaggerations and misstatements of this author, or the weakness of his arguments, may afford, I will expose the mischief to the Protestant state of Ireland which must arise by the admission of Romanists into Parliament, from the very nature of its constitution and government, and the true state of its population, relative numbers, and views of the different classes of its inhabitants.

The sovereign power of Ireland is vested in the King, Lords, and Commons; and whatever prince wears the
diadem

diadem of Great Britain, he is *ipso facto* King of Ireland : its population cannot much exceed three millions of people ; one third at least of the inhabitants are Protestants, two thirds only are Romanists : upwards of two millions of the inhabitants are in such a state of poverty, that they cannot pay a yearly tax to the state of four-pence per head without the greatest distress, and nine tenths of these are Romanists. (See Appendix, No. 1.) All subjects of a state, who deny that the supreme power by which that state is constitutionally governed is exclusively entitled to enact and execute all laws for the good government of that state, and who maintain, as part of their religious creed, that a power exists extraneous and separate from that state, and not under its control and dominion, which can make laws, and enforce their execution among the subjects of that state in many particulars, are enemies to its independence, and traitors. Irish Romanists universally maintain, as an immutable tenet of their religion, the supremacy of the Pope in all spiritual matters within this kingdom. See the above quotations from Dr. Troy (who styles the power of the state to determine within itself, and by its own judicatories, all ecclesiastical causes, an *usurpation*), and all other Romish writers on the same subject. Romanists will not take the Oath of Supremacy before stated. It is utterly impossible and impracticable to separate a vast portion of *temporal* power and influence from *spiritual* supremacy : heresy is of spiritual cognizance, so is matrimony ; Romanists hold it to be a sacrament ; and as to its validity, their canons are in many instances different from ours, they declaring marriages null and void, which by our laws are valid, and *vice versa*. What degree of temporal power and influence does the supremacy in spirituals derive from the exclusive jurisdiction respecting heresy?

heresy? Look to the Lateran Council already quoted? What degree of temporal power and influence does the exclusive matrimonial jurisdiction confer? Legitimacy and succession to property real and personal, and almost every combination of circumstances under which such succession might be claimed, depend on the matrimonial jurisdiction. A thousand other instances can be adduced of the inseparability of supreme jurisdiction in spiritual, from vast power and influence in temporal concerns. The Popes for ages have usurped temporal authority as incident to their spiritual supremacy in various Christian states, and under that title alone; and as to the extent and influence of this jurisdiction, the decline of the Pope's power as a temporal prince does not in the least diminish them: as a temporal prince, the Pope never was considerable; the essence of his usurpation is in his dominion over the minds of Romanists in the state; if they are very numerous, they must be dangerous in proportion to their numbers, wealth, and influence in a Protestant state, though the Pope should be completely stripped of all his dominions and territories. The tyranny exerted by the Pope in temporals, under colour of his spiritual supremacy, is painted in our histories, and in the preambles of the statutes enacted both in England and Ireland for abolishing his usurpation. See the English statutes 25th Henry VIII. chap. 21.; 32d Henry VIII. chap. 38.; 1st of Elizabeth, chap. 1.; and Irish statutes 28th Henry VIII. chap. 13. 19.; 33d Henry VIII. chap. 6.; 2d of Elizabeth, chap. 1. The late Lord Chesterfield, whom no man will accuse of much prejudice in religious matters, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1745, expressed himself, in his speech from the Throne to the Irish Parliament, in the following manner: ' However,

' I leave

I leave to your consideration whether nothing further
 can be done, either by new laws, or the more effectual
 execution of those in being, to secure this nation against
 the great number of Papists, *whose speculative errors*
would only deserve pity, did not their pernicious influence
on civil society require and authorize restraint. This
 Lord was one of those men who, according to the author
 of '*The Case of Ireland Re-considered,*' was prejudiced
 and ill-informed, when compared with himself! And
 now I ask this author, whether he can produce a single
 instance in which a state having sufficient power to ex-
 clude all traitors from its sovereignty, voluntarily called
 them to the exercise of supreme power? This would be
 the case, if Romanists in Ireland were admitted into the
 Houses of Lords and Commons; for in these Houses, in
 conjunction with the King, and not in the King alone, is
 lodged the supreme power of the state; and such is the
 peculiar characteristic of our constitution, which is a li-
 mited monarchy: if the Government of Ireland were
 guilty of such folly, it would richly merit political disso-
 lution, and might be justly termed *felo de se*. Shall we
 give voices in the supreme legislative assembly, invested
 with the sovereign power, to those who are taught by
 their religion not only to renounce and disobey, but to
 vilify and traduce the supremacy of that Legislature, and
 who thus ally superstition with treason, and, as it were,
 sanctify rebellion? In the British empire, experience has
 shown the folly, nay madness, of investing Romanists with
 supreme power. King James the Second, who was per-
 verted from the Protestant religion to Popery during his
 exile, no sooner ascended the Throne, than he set every
 engine to work, for the purpose of establishing Popery on
 the ruins of the religion of his country: he was a prince

not destitute of qualities which might have secured to him the affection of his subjects, both as a man and a monarch ; but his unfortunate attachment to Popery made him set at nought all political and moral obligation ; regardless of his coronation oath, he made use of all the advantages which his situation afforded him, to violate every principle of the constitution, for the sole purpose of surrendering the supremacy of the state to a foreign judicatory, attempting to subjugate the independent British empire to the Papacy, to share the regal authority with the Pope, and to reign partly as his vassal : the obligation of a solemn oath yielded to his bigotry, and he reduced to practice the Romish doctrine, that all oaths, the obligations of which militate in any respect against the tenets of their church, are in themselves impious, unlawful, and void. His conduct is a perpetual lesson to Protestants, not to rely with too much confidence on the oaths of Romanists, the obligations of which operate against their religious opinions.

The above arguments also prove the mischief which must arise from committing to Romanists the higher executive offices of the state ; they would be thereby entrusted with the execution of laws, which they are bound in conscience to resist, and which they look upon as impious and heretical. Common sense exclaims against such monstrous and destructive projects of innovation ! All Protestants must for ever deprecate and oppose the granting any part of the supreme power of the state, whether legislative or executive, to Romanists, who must ever direct that power unceasingly to the destruction of the Protestant religion, and the establishment of their own ; and this they can never have any reasonable hope to effect,
save

save by a total change in the constitution. It is impossible that any Romanist can honestly and zealously administer the affairs of a Protestant state; he would cease to be a Romanist, if he did not perseveringly aim at supremacy, and the paramount establishment of the Romish religion. Romanists could not be content to share equal power with those they believe to be heretics: the most sacred engagements (as we see, among a thousand instances, in the conduct of James the Second), if contrary to, or not coinciding with, the interests of their church, are by that church dissolved, and declared void.

The argument of this author, that representation by the British constitution is in the same ratio with property, that Protestant property is to that of Romish property in Ireland in the proportion of ten to one, and that consequently no danger can accrue to the Protestant interest by the admission of Romanists into Parliament, I have answered pretty fully already, from the fluctuation of property in a commercial state, from the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists, and the avowed political creed of the latter class. But though I were to admit, that property and consequent representation would always remain in the same ratio, yet I can point out many mischiefs to the establishment in church and state, which would most certainly flow from the admission of Romanists to seats in Parliament. When King James the Second undertook the subversion of the Protestant establishment in England and Ireland, the two great branches of the supreme authority of both nations, to wit, the Houses of Lords and Commons, consisted of Protestants only. The supreme executive, being only one branch of the sovereign authority of the empire, attempted to carry into execution

execution this desperate project: history informs us it was very near succeeding, and would with certainty have succeeded, at least in Ireland, had not a great continental power, nearly allied to the Throne, interfered for our preservation, roused the energy of the empire, and defeated a design founded in bigotry, and consequent perjury. At that time one branch of the supreme authority was near effecting so desperate an enterprise; what mischiefs and innovations may not be expected, in case the other two branches, or either of them, and particularly the popular branch, the House of Commons, should become even partially corrupted with Romish bigotry, hostile, and incurably so, to the constitution both in Church and State! All persons know that the House of Commons, if uninfluenced by the monarchy and aristocracy, could subvert the state: it did so once, and if led by desperate and wicked politicians, might do so again: the very existence of our political establishment depends on the constitutional influence of the King and Peers among the Commons; and is it consistent with the rules of political wisdom, to suffer any part of that assembly to be composed of the determined, deadly, irreclaimable enemies of the constitution, and of the independence of the empire? This author supposes that a tenth part of that House would be immediately occupied by Romish representatives, in case they were admitted to sit in Parliament; but whatever their number might be at first, it certainly would constantly increase, from the shifting of property in commercial countries to that class of subjects which is most numerous. The concession then to Romanists of the capacity of sitting in Parliament, would be the immediate admission of thirty members into the House of Commons, determined enemies of the constitution in Church and State,

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who would be always ready to join any discontented party in Parliament in opposition to the Crown and its Ministers ; any set of profligate desperadoes ; the professed patrons of two opposition measures, dignified with the specious and imposing titles of *Emancipation and Reform*, signifying, in the vocabulary of the Irish Rebels, *Popery and Republicanism* (as is fully proved in the Reports of the Secret Committees of the British and Irish Houses of Lords and Commons), or in any other measures for the destruction of the constitution. Romish Irish members of Parliament would support emancipation from the principles of their religion, and reform as ancillary to emancipation, because most of the boroughs are at present under the influence of Protestants ; and though Romanists are rendered capable of being members of corporations by the act of 1793 in their favour, yet it will take some time before its operation can ensure to them any domineering interest in boroughs : besides, the Irish Romanists are now almost universally determined Republicans, as I shall hereafter show.

It is pretty certain, if Romanists were admissible into Parliament, that a greater number of them would obtain seats, than their property entitles them to expect, on the scale laid down by this author ; for the lowest orders of the Irish population are almost all Romanists, and particularly the Irish peasantry. Mr. Tone, in his State of Ireland, drawn up for the use of the French Convention, states, that the whole of the Irish peasantry may be said to be Romanists, and semi-barbarous. The Irish Protestant Nobility and Gentry, after the passing of the act which enabled Romanists to vote at elections of members of Parliament, seemed to be seized with a mania for making

ing forty-shilling freeholders, each vying with his neighbour for qualifying the greatest number of voters at county elections; and most of their tenantry being Romanists, they made forty-shilling freeholders of a vast number of them, under the vain opinion, that they would be always able to command their votes: hence, in many counties, the forty-shilling Romish freeholders exceed in numbers the Protestant freeholders, and woful experience has now proved to the Protestant landlords their mistake, in supposing that the votes of their Romish tenants would be at their disposal; for in the late Romish Rebellion it was remarkable, that the insurgent peasants pursued their landlords with the greatest inveteracy, murdered such of them as fell into their hands, burned their houses, and wasted their property: in fact, these half-savages are mostly under the direction and influence of their priests, who would generally sway county elections; and I need not make use of many arguments to prove, that the persons elected as representatives for most of the counties would very soon be all Romanists, whether they had property or not: the same would be the case in all or most of the boroughs distinguished by the name of Pot-walloping; of which, I think, there are eight in the kingdom: so that the Romish representation would immediately amount to much more than a tenth of the House of Commons; and this would be an evil daily increasing. All these Romish representatives would most certainly unite together, and act in conjunction with every discontented party against the Government, whilst it continued Protestant; and as all such parties would join the Romanists in making breaches in the constitution favourable to their views, to procure their co-operation in their own designs, what incalculable mischiefs must arise, and what certain ruin to the present

establishment in Church and State, from the admission of Romanists into Parliament! I am firmly persuaded that His Majesty, a truly pious prince, will never be induced to concur in so fatal a measure, but will conceive that his concurrence would be a violation of his coronation oath, inasmuch as it would directly tend to the overthrow of that religious establishment which he has solemnly sworn to maintain and defend.

The second general argument of this author on which he rests the Romish claims of political power, *viz.* that Romanists have a right to seats in Parliament in proportion to their property, because property is, by the British constitution, the basis of representation, is very easily refuted. Admitting property to be the basis of representation, yet by no force of argument can it be proved, that a class of people, from religious principle the determined enemies of the state, traitors in theory, and always in practice, when they dare, be their property what it may, have a right to be admitted into the supreme legislative power of the state; they ought to be excluded by every principle on which civil societies are founded: and so far from being entitled to the enjoyment of any political power in a state, they ought to be extremely well contented with, and, if they have any sparks of gratitude, very thankful for, being permitted to remain within the territories of the state, and enjoy the protection and benefits of it. Protestant states affording such indulgence to their Romish subjects act on a true Christian principle; they forgive their enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, heap benefits upon them, and deprive them of nothing, except the power of injuring their protectors. The greater part of the above reasoning applies as well to the rejection of Romanists

manists from seats in the United Parliament, when an Incorporating Union shall take place between Great Britain and Ireland, as from seats in the Irish Parliament: their admission into either would be a fatal breach in the constitution: the consequence of such an innovation in England I shall hereafter enlarge on.

I shall conclude this part of my answer to the author's sophistical argument, to prove the Romish principle of Papal supremacy to be no reasonable objection to Romanists enjoying part of the sovereign authority of the Protestant state of Ireland by sitting in Parliament, and being admitted to the highest executive offices, with observing that his petulant assertion, that no well-informed man would make it twice, is in fact an assertion, that all English and Irish statesmen and senators in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth, and ever since, were ignorant politicians when compared with himself, and have drawn on themselves the contempt of the whole world, by excluding Romanists from sovereign power, as he in one place expresses himself. Such presumption and ignorance demonstrate him to be an Irishman, bred in an academy of modern French philosophers, the only rival of whose characteristic presumption is their ignorance.

It is very difficult to determine, whether this author's next argument betrays most ignorance or malice. He begins it by stating, 'that Roman Catholics do not deny the sole right of the state to manage the concerns, establishment, *faith and discipline* of the Church of England;' thereby, indirectly, but not less decisively, asserting, that the *faith and discipline* of the Church of England are mere

creatures of state policy, and that such faith is not founded on, nor its discipline regulated by, the holy Scriptures, the revealed word of God, but is of mere human invention, or rather imposition :—most condescending admission of this Romish writer ! At the very time he is endeavouring to persuade Protestants to acquiesce in the Romish claims, he cannot, in the true spirit of Popery, forbear introducing, in almost every paragraph, some sneer or malignant falsehood against the established church. The state has not assumed the power in the British empire to manage the faith of its subjects, so far as that faith relates merely to spiritual concerns, if by managing is meant the determining the articles of faith : all such are determined by convocations of the Clergy, according to the doctrines laid down in the holy Scriptures : the same is true with respect to the discipline of the Church, which is settled and regulated by the canons agreed on in convocation, which convocation sits by the authority of the Crown. As to the establishment and revenues of the Church, the British state does always interfere, as they relate to the temporal concerns of the Clergy and Laity both ; and hence the canons agreed on at convocation, relating necessarily to temporal matters, as well as spiritual, indissolubly connected, must, to give them a temporal authority, be approved of by the sovereign power ; but they bind the Clergy, without the sanction of Parliament, in all points of faith and discipline. The authority of Parliament is also necessary to warrant and enforce the public exercise of religion ; and such interference of the state the encroaching system of the Romish church on the temporal power of princes and states throughout the Christian world made absolutely necessary, multiplying corruptions in that particular for a series of centuries. After thus sneering
maliciously

maliciously at the established church, this author proceeds :
 ‘ *Roman Catholics do not admit the King of England to be*
 ‘ *spiritual head of the Roman Catholic church, nor do the*
 ‘ *Presbyterians admit him to be head of theirs : this was not*
 ‘ *a reason for excluding the Scotch from a share in the Legis-*
 ‘ *lature of the country they were united to ; why then should it*
 ‘ *exclude the Irish ?*’ It is to be observed first, that he in-
 sinuates the Romish church is the church of the Irish in
 general ; I shall hereafter expose the fraud of that insinu-
 ation ; but I must first examine his argument, admitting,
 that I verily believe from some other passages in his pam-
 phlet, it is partly founded on the author’s profound igno-
 rance of the laws of his country, which he manifests in
 more than one instance, when writing on the repealed
 Irish Popery code, and its effects in society.

The original Oath of Supremacy, as ordained to be
 taken by the 28th of Henry VIII. chap. 13. contained
 the following clause : ‘ shall accept, repute, and take the
 ‘ King’s Majesty to be the *the only supreme head on earth*
 ‘ *of the Church of England and Ireland.*’ This oath was
 complained of, as an acknowledgment of a sacerdotal
 power in the temporal sovereign. Queen Elizabeth, after
 her accession, when she caused the laws against the Pope’s
 authority, which had been repealed by her sister Mary, to
 be re-enacted, altered Henry’s Oath of Supremacy, or
 rather caused an entirely new Oath to be enacted in the
 room of Henry’s : in this new Oath of Supremacy is the
 following clause : ‘ I — do utterly testify and declare
 ‘ in my conscience, that the Queen’s Highness is the only
 ‘ *supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her High-*
 ‘ *ness’s dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual*
 ‘ *or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal.*’ (See Irish

Act, 2d Eliz. chap. 1: sect. 7.) And to prevent all cavil, the Queen published an explanation of this Oath of Supremacy, declaring, ‘ that she did not under colour
 ‘ thereof claim any priestly power, but merely under
 ‘ God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of
 ‘ persons born within her dominions, of what estate, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no
 ‘ other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.’ (See 1st vol. Carte’s History of the Duke of Ormond, page 38.) This Oath of Supremacy was afterwards abrogated by the English act of the 1st of William and Mary, and a new Oath was substituted in its place: for it was found that King James the Second, under the sanction of this Oath, had assumed a most unconstitutional power in the affairs of the Church, and used it for the subversion of the established constitution in Church and State. By this new Oath all persons, to whom it was by law administered, *only disclaimed and abjured all foreign authority or jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters within the realm, and did not swear that the Monarch was either supreme head, or supreme governor of the Church of the realm.* It is enacted, that this Oath shall be taken in Ireland as well as in England. I have given this Oath at large before. Hence it is obvious, that Irish Romanists are not excluded from Parliament, and from occupying the highest offices in the state, by their not admitting the King to be supreme head of the Church, as this author ignorantly states, but they exclude themselves by refusing to abjure the authority of a foreign prince and prelate within the realm.

The Reformation in Scotland was introduced by divines who were the disciples of Calvin: his doctrines

were universally received by the Reformed in Scotland ; and though James the First and Charles the First did introduce episcopacy into that kingdom, it was almost universally opposed by the mass of the people, both high and low. Episcopacy was subverted, and Presbyterianism established in the great civil war, which commenced in the year 1641. On the Restoration, episcopacy was restored, and held its place with great difficulty till the Revolution in 1688, when Presbyterianism was again introduced in Scotland on the ruins of Episcopacy, and was established by the King and Parliament, as the religion of the state. The Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland took place long afterwards, in the 5th year of Queen Anne ; and previous to the Union, and preparative thereto, an act was passed in England for the security of the Church of England, whereby the Acts of Uniformity, as they then stood, are declared perpetual ; as also all other acts then in force for the preservation of the Church of England : and it is enacted, that every subsequent King and Queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same, within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed : and a similar act, previous to the Union, and preparative thereto, was passed in Scotland, for the perpetual security of Presbyterianism in that kingdom, being then, and long before, its established religion. These two acts are inserted in the body of the Act of Union of the two kingdoms ; and by that act it is enacted, that the aforesaid two acts shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of the Union. The twenty-second article of the conditions of that Union inserted in, and ratified by, the Act of Union, provides, that all members of the
United

United Parliament, English and Scotch, shall, previous to their voting in Parliament, take the oath already mentioned, substituted by the 1st of William and Mary in the room of the former Oath of Supremacy, and the Oath of Abjuration of the descendants of the late King James the Second, and repeat and sign the Declaration against Popery. (See Defoe's History of the Union, and the English Statute 5th Anne, chap. 8.) Sir William Blackstone observes on this Act of Union, that any alteration in the constitution of either of these churches, or in the liturgy of the Church of England, would be an infringement of these fundamental and essential conditions, and greatly endanger the Union. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, octavo edit. vol. i. page 98.)

As to particulars respecting the discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, I confess myself not well informed, nor can I say whether it does, or does not, admit the King to be its supreme head; but this I will venture to advance, that the King's Commissioner sits in every general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and the state exercises pretty much the same controlling power over that Kirk, as it does over the Church of England. The admission, that the King is supreme head over the Kirk of Scotland, is not required as a qualification for a Scotch member to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain, nor for any member, whether Scotch or English: but the abjuration of all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction within the realm is required as a qualification: this abjuration all Scotch members actually make, and therefore they are admitted to sit in Parliament; but all Irish Romanists absolutely refuse to make this abjuration, and therefore exclude themselves from that privilege: and the author's argument,

argument, that Irish Romanists should be qualified to sit in Parliament, because Scotch Presbyterians are qualified so to do, is a compound of ignorance and fraud.

It is here proper to take notice of another argument of this author somewhat of the same kind with the former. 'Scotland' (he observes, in page 10) 'has preserved her religious establishment in opposition to that of England, and an episcopal party at home;' and from thence he deduces, in many parts of his pamphlet, 'that Popery should be the established religion in Ireland, in case of an Union, in opposition to that of England, and a Protestant party in Ireland.'

The Churches of England and Scotland differ but little in points of faith; their chief disagreements relate to points of discipline: they are both Protestant churches, both disavow the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, both disclaim all partnership of dominion within the realm between the state and any foreign power; and as to this cardinal point, on which all political authority and legitimate government rest in the British Empire, these two Churches are so far from being in opposition, that there is the most perfect harmony between them: no dangerous convulsions in the body politic by the clashing of jurisdictions can arise from the one Church being established in one part, and the other in another part of the united kingdom; nor can the allegiance of the subject be distracted by the conflict of contending authorities. Presbyterianism was the established religion of Scotland at the time of the Union, and long previous to it; consequently Scotland did not preserve it in opposition to England, for England did not attempt to subvert the religion of Scotland, or claim any right so to do; and it is a very strange
and

and unwarranted assumption of this author, that the preservation of that which I am in full undisturbed possession of by a lawful title, and the enjoyment of which by me is not and cannot be in any shape detrimental to my neighbour, is retained by me in opposition to him, on my concluding a treaty with him for a closer connexion and alliance.

Let us now compare the Present State of Ireland as to Religion, with that of Scotland at the time of the Union with England, which I have already stated. The present established religion in Ireland is the Protestant; and this author's argument for the establishment of Popery in Ireland, in case of an Union, deduced from the religious state of Scotland at the time of its Union with England, is thus: At the Union, Scotland retained her established religion in opposition to England; *ergo*, Ireland, on an Union with England, should subvert her established religion, being the same with that of England, and set up Popery as her establishment in opposition to England! Such reasoning puts me in mind of Swift's description of a lady's arguments:

- ‘ Her arguments directly tend
- ‘ Against the side she would defend.’

The inevitable deduction from the author's statement is directly contrary to his. It follows from the conduct of Scotland at the Union, as stated by him, that Ireland should, on an Union with Great Britain, preserve her established religion as Scotland did, and not suffer it to be subverted, impaired, or changed; and the more so, as it is the same with that of England.

The

The modesty of this author, discoverable from his pamphlet, is as remarkable as any other of his qualities : he with great condescension tells the people of Great Britain that *he* will consent to an Union of Ireland with their kingdom, provided the establishment of Popery in Ireland be one of the conditions ; and he calls such an Union a fair and broad Union. In page 6 he thus expresses himself : ‘ I think it right to declare that I ‘ am no enemy to this measure, provided it be a fair ‘ and broad Union ;’ and this his most gracious and conciliating opinion he more fully explains in many passages of his pamphlet, evidently aiming at striking a bargain with the British Government for an Union ; the price which he demands for the consent of Irish Romanists to the measure being no less than the subversion of the Protestant religion in Ireland by the power of Great Britain ; and he very audaciously urges the expediency of such a proceeding on the part of Great Britain, by magnifying the strength of the Irish Romanists, by the most impudent threats of their rebellion, and the powerful interference of his old associates, the French assassins, on their behalf, in case his terms be rejected. This traitorous part of his arguments I shall more particularly notice hereafter, and refer to the passages in his pamphlet which contain them.

As this writer thinks fit in some few passages to assume the mask of what he esteems moderation, and pretend that *all* he requires for Irish Romanists is a full equality of all kind of privileges, and the enjoyment of part of the sovereignty of the state with Protestants ; (very moderate requisitions indeed !) which he endeavours to show
from

from the superiority of the wealth and estates of Protestants, cannot be dangerous to the state; it may not be amiss here to take a peep under his mask, where may be easily discovered the hideous and ferocious features of the French Revolutionist, in all their terrific deformity, and that he really considers all the claims he makes on behalf of Irish Romanists (and which he asks sometimes as boons in a style of sturdy sollicitation, and sometimes demands them with insult and menace), merely as the means of enabling his party to overturn the constitution in Church and State. I will for this purpose select one passage, though his real views may be discovered by almost every passage in his pamphlet. In page 40 he writes thus: ‘ I am now come to that important truth, which
‘ modern political writers on religious establishments, as
‘ I am informed, lay down as a principle, *that every state*
‘ *ought to establish the religious sect which is most numerous.*
‘ *If the necessity, or even the bare utility of Religion in a State*
‘ *be admitted, this truth forces itself on the mind most ad-*
‘ *verse to conviction, as imperiously as those axioms which*
‘ *no arguments can render clearer.*’ He then proceeds to show, that no religious establishment is necessary in a state, ‘ because Popery has answered all the true purposes
‘ of religion in Ireland without an establishment.’ He then argues, that the state may justly refuse any support to the ministers of the established Church; because, as he asserts ‘ the revenue enjoyed by the Church is part of
‘ the common stock left to the discretion of the state to
‘ employ to the best advantage of the community; and
‘ the Irish Legislature have a right to determine whether
‘ it be right or wrong to apply it to the establishment of
‘ the Protestant Church; and that it would be both wise
‘ and

‘ and generous for the Government to apply part of it
 ‘ at least to the support (that is, establishment) of Irish
 ‘ Romish priests.’

The position of this author, the incontestable truth of which he asserts with such dogmatic assurance, to wit, *that every state ought to establish the religious sect which is most numerous, if the utility of Religion in a State be admitted*, is first to be examined; because, as the author has frequently stated the Irish Romanists to be most numerous in Ireland, he in fact lays it down as a position, the truth of which cannot be disputed, *that Popery ought to be established by the Irish Government, and the revenues of the Church applied to the support of Romish priests*. Here then he tells us fairly and openly, that equality of privileges, and a share in the sovereignty of the state, will not content Irish Romanists; *that the Protestant establishment must and ought to be destroyed, and Popery placed in its room*; and that the truth of this last proposition is incontestable. But I cannot agree in the alleged incontestable truth of this position. I admit that Religion is both useful and necessary in a State; it disposes the minds of men to the exercise of all the moral virtues, and to a cheerful submission to that degree of subordination which is the principal link of connexion in all societies; it has prime influence in curbing unruly passions, and restraining the turbulence of inordinate appetites and desires; it therefore ought to be cherished and encouraged by all rulers of States and Empires: but I cannot admit that a religious establishment is to be always regulated by the number of the subjects of a state maintaining particular dogmas, if such dogmas are found, by the best informed and most respectable part of the state, to be inconsistent

consistent with the nature and constitution of the society, and subversive of the very frame of it: I cannot admit, that Christianity is to be treated as a mere engine of state, though true Christianity is certainly a great prop of the state: nor can I ever admit, that usurpation of part of the sovereignty of the state, or translation of it to a foreign power, are any parts of Christianity; and although the rabble of a country should maintain such a pernicious doctrine as a tenet of religion, and although the rabble in every country exceed the wealthy and informed part of the community, I cannot conceive that the government of a country is obliged to abdicate part of its sovereign authority, and consent to the establishment of such a divided power, of an *imperium in imperio*, though the rabble should be desirous, on the score of religion, to establish such a kind of mixed government, as in itself, in its very nature, contains the seeds of anarchy and confusion.

The desires or wishes of the majority of the subjects of a State cannot be complied with, without evident destruction of the state, in many instances. In all States in the world, the poor exceed the rich in number, and they universally wish for a division of the property of the wealthy; yet laws for an equal division of property, real and personal, of the nature of agrarian laws, are held to be destructive to all states, and subversive of all industry, arts, and sciences: and surely property, its acquisition and preservation, act as powerfully on the passions and prejudices of the people in general as religion, or the maintenance or subversion of religious establishments: and political writers might as well maintain that laws for the equal division of property should be enacted

enacted by the State, as that it should establish that Sect of Religion, whose votaries among its subjects were most numerous.

This author admits, that the representatives of the people in Parliament, or the Commons, the popular and most efficient branch of the supreme authority of the State, are to be elected by the people, reckoned according to their property, not their number. He asserts, that the supreme authority of the State can justly apply the Revenues of the Church to the support and establishment of any religion it may think proper; and yet asserts, in contradiction to these premises, that the State is bound to establish that sect whose votaries are most numerous, and not that whose votaries possess most property. How infinitely greater does the absurdity of such deduction appear, when we reflect that the expediency of the establishment of a Religion subversive of the independence and the very existence of the State is supported by such arguments!

Governments certainly act wisely in fitting their laws to the established opinions of the mass of their subjects; but in collecting the opinions of that mass, number is not so much to be regarded as property, station, rank, and respectability. The multitude is even proverbially ignorant. Information and judgment, the result of education, which the generality of mankind never attain, and which is not in fact necessary for their stations and occupations in life, are almost peculiar to the wealthy, or at least to those who are above indigence or the avocations of manual labour. In Ireland, if the opinion of the mass of the subjects, collected in the manner

before mentioned, is to determine the religious establishment, the weight of the Protestant body, though inferior in number, would infinitely outweigh that of the Romanists; and the Protestant faith must continue to be the established religion, if the predominant opinion of the subjects, ascertained by the common rules of reason and true political wisdom, is to be the regulator of the conduct of the State in point of religion. Forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed estates in Ireland are in the possession of Protestants, and nineteen parts out of twenty of personal estates; so that they exceed the Romanists in wealth in the proportion of forty to one at least (See Appendix, No. 1.), and not in the proportion of ten to one only, as this author, and the writer he undertakes to answer, have assumed. Of two millions of Irish inhabitants, so indigent as not to be able to pay a tax of four-pence per head yearly to the State, nine tenths are Romanists; in fact, almost the whole beggary of the kingdom are Romanists: how superlative, then, is the audacity of this Romish writer, in maintaining that Popery ought to be and must be the established religion in Ireland, because it is the religion of the greatest number of Irish subjects! Is the mob of a nation to determine its religious establishment? Is the mob to subject the nation to a foreign power?

But this self-evidently true position, in the opinion of this writer, that Popery ought to be the established religion in Ireland, because Irish Romanists out-number Irish Protestants, may be very easily refuted even on the score of numbers, and even admitting that superiority of number of subjects, reckoned not by property and respectability, but by the poll, should determine the establishment of the religion of the State; for Ireland is not a
kingdom

kingdom separate and distinct from Great Britain. Even in its present state it is so closely connected with Great Britain, that the ablest writers against an Incorporating Union of the two nations found their strongest arguments on this position, that the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is so strong as to be nearly indissoluble, and they deduce, that therefore no further Union is necessary. Certain it is, that the present connexion of the two islands approaches very near to a complete Union. The kingdom of Ireland, by the laws of the land, is forever annexed to, dependant upon, and inseparably united to, the imperial crown of Great Britain. Whoever is King of Great Britain, is *ipso facto* King of Ireland. No Act of Parliament can pass in Ireland till after it has been sent into England, and has there the great seal of England affixed to it. Ireland is notoriously part of the British empire: the King of Great Britain is obliged at his coronation to swear that he will maintain the Protestant religion in Ireland. The inhabitants of Great Britain are almost all Protestants. If my memory does not deceive me, an inquiry into the number of Romanists in England was a few years ago made with great accuracy, by the authority of Government, on complaints of some zealous Protestants, that Romanists were increasing in number. It appeared on that inquiry, that the complaints were ill-founded; that the number of Romanists had considerably decreased in England since the Revolution, and that the whole number of Romanists in England, when the inquiry was made, did not exceed eighteen thousand. Adding the population of Great Britain and Ireland together, the Protestants will be found to outnumber the Romanists at least in the proportion of six to one in the British Empire in Europe; and hence this.

author's argument for the establishment of Popery and subversion of the Protestant religion, on the score of numbers, in any part of the British European dominions, will be found, like many of his other arguments, to make directly against his purpose.

As this author could not seriously entertain the hope, sanguine as he is, that the rulers of the British Empire would be duped by his absurd arguments to overturn the Protestant establishment in Ireland for the purpose of substituting Popery in its place, he proceeds to allege, that the establishment of any religion by the State is utterly unnecessary, wishing at least to destroy what his party is hopeless of obtaining ; and this modern political principle, as he states it, he supports by the following assertion : *Popery has answered all the true purposes of religion in Ireland without an establishment.* From his confederates, the Atheists of France, he has borrowed this modern political principle ; but his support of it from the efficacy in Ireland of unestablished Popery, alleging that it has answered all true purposes of religion, is as glaring, as notorious a falsehood, as any contained in his pamphlet, or in any other publication, ancient or modern. The author admits, in the same page (40), *that Religion is a great help to Morality, Good Order, and Government.* Let us now examine the effects of Popery in Ireland by this criterion. The English settled in Ireland before the Reformation, were for the most part always attached to England : they depended on England for support. A constant war was kept up between the English settlers in a considerable district of Ireland, called the Pale, and the native Irish : they would not mix or intermarry with them. The native Irish and these English
settlers

settlers and their descendants, though inhabiting that part of Ireland for some centuries before, remained two distinct and separate nations in the same island, and persecuting each other, in a predatory and destructive war, with the utmost rancour; but no sooner had the Reformation been introduced into Ireland, which it was not with any very material effect till the reign of King James the First, than the natives and these English settlers began to unite and form alliances. Their mutual enmity abated, and they joined in a rancorous hatred of the English nation, and hostility to it; the old English settlers growing as inveterate as the native Irish against the nation from which they sprung, joining in all schemes for severing the island from England for ever, and rendering it an Independent State. Such a project indeed had been always cherished by the native Irish, but was always opposed by the English settlers till after the Reformation. From this darling pursuit of the native Irish before the Reformation, strengthened by the junction of the English settlers with them after that period, a junction entirely effected by their common attachment to the doctrines of the Romish Church; and from such confederacy, cemented by bigotry, and inflamed by religious fury against their fellow-subjects, sprung Desmond's and Tyrone's rebellions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the horrible rebellion and massacre in that of Charles the First, and the obstinate and destructive rebellion in the reign of William and Mary. In each of these rebellions the most horrible cruelties were exercised by the Romish insurgents on all Protestants who fell into their hands; and the nation was three times successively desolated, and the Romanists, as vanquished rebels, reduced to abject poverty, from which they have not yet emerged. Above one half of the inhabitants,

ants, at each time, perished by famine and the sword ; multitudes deserted the kingdom ; all improvements were destroyed ; the progress of industry was effectually impeded ; arts and sciences were banished ; and Ireland, by such means, though intimately connected with the richest, most civilized and industrious nation in the world, is now a century behind the rest of Europe in civilization and every species of valuable improvement, all owing to the superstitious attachment of a considerable portion of its inhabitants to the Romish faith, in opposition to the Protestant establishment. A large portion of its natives, all Romanists, is by the same cause continued in a semi-barbarous state. (See Tone's State of Ireland, for the Use of the French Convention.) In short, all the calamities which, for a course of two hundred years past and upwards, have overwhelmed this unhappy country, in the catalogue of which must be included the late rebellion (which this author, with sufficient confidence, asserts was not a Romish rebellion), and the murder in cold blood of all Protestants who fell into the hands of the insurgents, have had their real source in the Popery of part of the inhabitants of Ireland. *Such is the assistance which Popery without an establishment has afforded to Morality, Good Order, and Government, within this kingdom ! and such the true purposes of Religion which it has answered !*

This author's next position is, that the Revenue of the Church is part of the common stock left to the discretion of the State to employ to the best advantage of the Community ; from whence he deduces that it may justly withhold it from the support of the Protestant establishment ; not without throwing out a strong hint of the wisdom and generosity of applying it, or at least a part of it, to

the support or establishment of Romish priests in Ireland.

The Revenues and Property of the Church are by the British Constitution just as far disposable of by the State as the revenues and property of the Laity, and no further. The State has a right to demand a reasonable part of the property of all its subjects, laity and clergy, by way of tax, for the support of civil and military establishments, sufficient to secure the nation in peace at home, and cause it to be respected by foreign nations, to repel and punish their aggressions. Until of late years, when the regular sittings of convocations of the clergy came to be discontinued, they taxed themselves, and were not subject to taxation by the Commons. But this author means by his position, that the State has a right to seize on all the revenues and property of the Church at its pleasure, and to apply it to what use it pleases, that is, to confiscate it. This doctrine he very explicitly avows and maintains in the 31st page of his pamphlet. The State, being established for the protection, and not for the destruction of property, has no more right, by the British Constitution, to act in such manner in respect to the Church, than it has to seize on and confiscate all the estates and property of the Laity; neither has the State, by the same Constitution, any right to lay any greater tax on ecclesiastical than on lay property. Some of our countrymen, who have been educated in France, are constantly debasing our language by introducing Gallicisms into our phraseology: in the same way, those who have learned their politics in the modern French school, are for ever obtruding the flagitious, anarchical, political principles of the French Atheists upon us, as if they were part of our constitu-

tional principles, endeavouring thus to corrupt and debase our constitution. This author betrays his French institution and politics, and his utter ignorance of the constitution of his country, in numberless instances, one of which is, his doctrine respecting the inexpediency and inutility of a church establishment, and the justice of the confiscation of all church revenues. Under the influence, or rather pretended influence, of this doctrine, the French Atheists robbed their national clergy of all support, and then exterminated them, and all Christianity, with fire and sword; justifying their robbery and sacrilege by this doctrine; their murders and banishments, by the necessity of ridding themselves of the people they had robbed: indeed it has been, in all ages, the practice of French robbers to murder those they have plundered. Such are a few of the unconstitutional doctrines which this Romish writer has published for the perusal of the subjects of the British Empire! and such the arguments by which he attempts to recommend and justify the subversion of our constitution in Church and State, and the erection of Popery on its ruins!

Further to convince my readers, that admission into the Senate and the great offices of the State will not content the Romanists, and that they aim at nothing less than the overthrow of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, I will quote some of this author's complaints on the subject of tithes, almost the whole support of the parochial Protestant clergy of Ireland; and will at the same time note their falsity and malice, thinking this the proper place for doing so, as I am exposing his unfounded assertions respecting the property of the Church. In page 30 he observes, 'The religion of one man out of

' four is Protestant. This religion is endowed with the
 ' tithe of the whole kingdom, beside great property in
 ' land, an immense church establishment.' In page 31
 he writes thus: ' Among the peasantry, the proportion
 ' of Roman Catholics is much greater (than four to one).
 ' After paying a tithe, *exactd generally with great rigour*,
 ' to support the established religion, of which they never
 ' hear but by the tithe proctor, they must out of their po-
 ' verty pay something to their own priest, who, nearly
 ' as poor as themselves, lives with them, and renders
 ' them many services.' In page 56, with respect to
 tithes, he thus expresses himself: ' This tax, and the
 ' severity with which it is collected, is one of the great-
 ' est grievances the people labour under;' so that, accord-
 ing to this writer, the payment of tithes to the Protestant
 clergy by the Irish Romanists is a grievance to them as
 heavy at least as exclusion from the Senate and the great
 offices of the State, and consequently must be also re-
 dressed before they will consent to an Union. Very
 happy it is for Protestants, and sufficient to put them on
 their guard, that these Romish writers in general, when
 they plead for an extension of privileges to Romanists,
 before a Protestant tribunal, are so far transported by the
 rancour of their sect, that they cannot refrain from
 venting their venom against the Protestant religion and
 its pastors, even by the very interest of the sect whose
 cause they are pleading, nor conceal their projects of
 subversion of the Protestant establishment on the attain-
 ment of these privileges, at the very time they are soli-
 citing for them; nor their intentions to use them, in
 case they shall be invested with them, for the destruction
 of the very people from whom they are soliciting them.
 Their indiscreet impetuosity makes their claims appear

as reasonable as the sollicitation of a murderer would be, who should humbly request you to give him your sword for the purpose of plunging it into your heart. I will now proceed to examine the complaints of this writer respecting tithes.

In the first place he styles Tithes a Tax, to expose them to popular odium; the mass of the people in every country being adverse to the payment of Taxes. Taxes are certain sums of money assessed on, and levied from, the subjects of the realm, by the lawful authority of Parliament, to be applied to the support of Government and other public purposes. Tithes predial and mixt, the only tithes paid in this kingdom, are certain duties to be paid out of the produce and profits of lands, and beasts fed on lands, in nature of rent; but to be paid in kind, as all rents were heretofore paid in this nation, before money became so plentiful in Europe as in the present, and for a few immediately preceding ages. In fact, tithes are a rent with which all the lands in the kingdom are chargeable, for time immemorial, by the common law of the realm; and the clergy have been endowed with them by a title more ancient by ages than the title of any subject of this or any other kingdom in Europe, to his particular landed estate. The only difference between tithes as a rent, and the rent of any man's landed estate, is, that the rents reserved on landed estates in this kingdom are certain sums of money to be paid in lieu of a share of the produce; and tithes are an uncertain duty, being one tenth of the produce payable in kind, and therefore varying in quantity every year, as the crop varies, being greater or less, as the crop is greater or less annually. Every person whose lands are subject to
tithes,

tithes, if he purchased the lands himself, bought them subject to the duty or rent of tithes; if he inherited them from his ancestors, the purchasing ancestor, whoever he was, took them subject to the payment of tithes: from hence may be discovered either the ignorance or malice of this author, or both, in styling tithes a tax. He next states, *that this tax (that is, tithes) is exacted with great rigour and severity.* This is a very direct and impudent falsehood; and as this writer has himself a landed estate in Ireland, it is a falsehood to his own knowledge. It is a fact too well known to every landholder in this kingdom, that the Irish Protestant clergy in general do not receive above one-fifth part of what they are by law entitled to, of the value of their tithes; that is, one fiftieth part of the annual value of the produce of the lands, *to the tithe of which they are entitled:* for one third of the tithe of the whole kingdom is in lay hands, and many parts of it are exempt from the payment of any tithes whatsoever; the Protestant Dissenters, as well as the Romanists, pay tithes with great reluctance; and the clergyman, harassed with suits and chicane, is glad to accept of a very inadequate composition for his tithes, even in parishes where he is best paid. No personal tithes are paid in any part of Ireland, or demanded; and as for mixt tithes, they are paid very partially. The only species of them which is paid in any part of Ireland, is tithe of lamb and wool. Tithe of agistment, or tithe of milk in dairies, are never demanded or paid, though payable by the common law. No person in Ireland is better qualified to inform the public in general, on the subject of the collection of tithes, and the conduct of the established clergy in Ireland in that particular, than I am, from the nature of my profession and the offices I fill;

fill; and I can with the greatest truth aver, that the moderation of the established Clergy in Ireland, in the collection of their tithes, is unparalleled, when compared with the conduct of any other set of men in enforcing the satisfaction of their legal demands; particularly when the very scanty provision which the parochial Clergy in general in this kingdom have, is considered; the whole benefices in the nation, reputing each union one benefice, amounting only to about eight hundred, and the incumbents of at least one half of them are not paid an income of two hundred pounds per annum; and of the other half, there is a moiety whose incomes, actually paid, do not exceed three hundred pounds per annum each; and throughout the kingdom it has become necessary for the Bishops to unite a number of parishes, to ensure even a reasonable subsistence for a clergyman. The whole established Clergy of Ireland do not amount to more than one thousand three hundred; and were the whole revenues of the Church, of every nature, divided equally among them, each man would not receive more than about one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This the author, in page 31, styles *an immense church establishment*; and insolently adds, that no one can say it is *necessary or useful in general to the people of the country*. Such is the grievance people labour under from the severity with which Tithes are collected in Ireland, and the immensity of the Church Establishment, according to this author: it is, like his other pretended grievances, a lying invention of a malignant Irish Romanist.

His next complaint respecting tithes is, that the Romish peasantry, very poor from oppression, are obliged to pay them to the Protestant clergy, whose spiritual assistance

assistance they receive not ; and are at the same time obliged to contribute to the support of their own clergy for spiritual assistance they do receive from them ; that is, the Irish Romish peasantry pay the Protestant clergy by compulsion, without valuable consideration ; the Romish clergy by justice, for valuable consideration. Before I expose the falsity of this complaint, it may not be amiss to show the injustice of it. In every country in which there is an Established Religion, the people at large are obliged to contribute to the support of the ministers of it ; and it is but reasonable that they should do so, if a Church Establishment be necessary and useful in a State ; which all people, French philosophers excepted, admit. If any part of the subjects of a State dissent from the establishment (as is the case, more or less, in all Christian states), reject the assistance of the ministers of the establishment in spiritual concerns, and apply to ministers of their own selection for that purpose, it may be reasonable that they should pay those whom they have so selected ; but there is not the smallest just or reasonable ground for complaint, inasmuch as the ministers of the Established Church are ready to afford them spiritual aid, and to perform their appointed duty to them, as well as to the other subjects, if they choose to accept of their ministry. So much for the injustice of the complaint, supposing the matter of it were true. But the whole is founded on falsehood and sophistry ; for the peasantry do not pay tithe out of their own property, it is in fact paid by the landlords. The peasant takes a lease of his farm from the proprietor, subject to the payment of tithe ; and the landlord abates more than an equivalent for the annual tithe, in the yearly rent reserved payable to himself. Lands in Ireland which are tithe-free are let at an annual

annual rent from a crown to half a crown per acre more than lands which are subject to tithes ; and in no part of the kingdom does the annual tithe, as it is paid, amount to so much on an average as the abatement in the annual rent amounts to ; so that, though the farmer pays the tithe, yet he does not pay it out of his own pocket,—it is really and *bona fide* paid out of the pocket of the landlord ; and the farmer in that respect is but his steward, and pays for him, and on his account. Of the landed estates in Ireland, on the most critical examination, it appears that forty-nine parts out of fifty are in the hands of Protestants ; so that Protestants pay forty-nine parts out of fifty of the tithe payable to the Protestant clergy : the Romish farmers do not pay a sixpence of it on their own accounts, and Romish landlords not above a fiftieth part. Every person acquainted with the true state of the kingdom knows the truth of the above statement. The Irish peasantry, in fact, would be in a worse condition if tithes were abolished ; for they would be obliged to pay an increase of their annual rents for their farms in such an event, vastly exceeding the sums which they now pay for the tithe of them ; and this is expressly admitted by Mr. Emmett, one of the Irish Directory, in his examination on oath before the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords. See the Appendix to their Report, No. 6, p. 32, where Mr. Emmett states thus :
*‘ I am very sure, if tithes were abolished, the people, on
‘ taking new leases, would be obliged to pay more in propor-
‘ tion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes ;’*
but he admits the leaders of the rebellion endeavoured to raise a popular cry for the abolition of tithes, as they did in favour of *Catholic Emancipation and Reform*, about all which, he admits, the people did not care a feather, till they

they persuaded them that certain imaginary advantages were to result from them ; and that they, that is, the Irish Republicans, raised that popular cry, for the mere purpose of cajoling the mass of the people into a support of their own anarchical projects.

It may be clearly perceived, that this writer has the same purpose in view, by all his falsehoods and misrepresentations ; and that he dwells on old subjects of complaint fraudulently aggravated, arising from the Popery code, long since repealed ; on exaggerated accounts of the poverty and misery of the Irish peasantry, arising, as he asserts, from oppression, but really from repeated rebellions and disaffection ; on false statements respecting tithes, severe exaction of them, and immense revenues in the possession of the Irish Protestant Clergy ; and, in short, that he leaves no topic of inflammation, which can work on the passions of the Irish Romanists, either from the deep impressions of their bigotry or interest, untouched, for the purpose of goading them to insurrection and rebellion, and thereby essentially serving *his masters the French Convention*.

This author admits, that the Pope nominates all the Irish Roman bishops, but asserts ‘ that this gives him no
 ‘ real or essential jurisdiction in the Irish state, he and
 ‘ the whole Roman Catholic Church not having, nor
 ‘ pretending to have, in the Irish state the power of the
 ‘ meanest vestry.’ How far this assertion is practically true, let any man judge, who has read the Oath of Allegiance taken by all Romish bishops to the Pope at their consecration, which I have already set forth. It is very true the Romish bishops have no tribunals in Ireland, in
 which.

which they pronounce decrees, the execution of which they can compel by the laws of the land, as they at present stand : yet it is equally true, that they have tribunals, vicars general and officials who do make and pronounce decrees in what they call spiritual matters, and in matrimonial causes especially, which highly affect the temporal concerns of the subjects of this realm ; and that they have ways and means of enforcing, and do enforce, the effectual execution of such decrees, of which I have within these few years come to the knowledge, in many instances : and although such their proceedings are forbidden by the laws of the realm under severe penalties, yet they continue the practice, have seals of office, and levy no inconsiderable sums on the subject for licences, dispensations, and other incidents of episcopal jurisdiction. If Romanists should be admitted to a share of the supreme authority of the State, and if any attempt should be made to carry the laws into execution against such illegal practices, what loud complaints should we hear of persecution ! and what harangues of Romish orators would be pronounced in the Senate on the score of the obstruction of the jurisdiction of their Bishops, liegemen of the Pope, in matters very intimately connected with the temporal interests of the subject ! and how incessant would their endeavours be to procure the repeal of such wholesome and restrictive statutes !

This author observes, ‘ that the Statute of Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, and the Statute of Præmunire (2d of Richard the Second), which secured ecclesiastical liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parliaments.’ It is to be noted, however, that the Statute of Magna Charta established all the usurpations of the
Romish

Romish Church as they then stood (See chap. i. xxxiii. xxxviii. of it : 2d Coke's Institutes, page 2. 68. 76.), and only repressed and abolished prerogatives claimed by the Crown, which bore hard on an Aristocracy, clerical and lay, at that time of mighty power ; and that the statute of Richard the Second only went to restrain the introduction into the kingdom of the Pope's bulls which touched on *the King's Crown and Regality*, or his realm, and the execution of such : the Popedom at that time claiming, and attempting to exercise, an unlimited temporal authority within the realm, and usurping all the prerogatives of the Crown, which abuses it had principally introduced in the reign of King John. The statute did abrogate, or attempt to abrogate, the supremacy of the Pope in spirituals, and in all temporal matters incident to such spiritual supremacy : the authority of the Pope in spirituals and in temporals inseparably connected with them, remained unimpaired in the realm, and was executed therein, either by his own or the Bishop's officers, or by the officers of the Sovereign, notwithstanding that statute, as may be learned from our histories, till the time of Henry the Eighth : Richard's Parliament not designing to curtail, what they, being Romanists, believed to be the just portion of temporal power incident to the Pope's acknowledged supremacy in spirituals. Till the reign of Henry the Eighth appeals to Rome, though illegal before, had been always connived at. (See 4th vol. Blackstone's Commentaries, page 114.)

The concluding argument of this author for the admission of Romanists into the Senate, and into all places of trust and confidence within the realm, to wit, *a similar practice in many other States*, he introduces with an affectation

tion of great politeness: his politeness indeed is much of the same kind with that of some modern men of nice honour, who affect all kind of ceremonious delicacy in their conduct, preparative to a premeditated quarrel, and mean to procure an excuse for shooting a man through the head, or running him through the heart, with the most perfect good breeding: he thus addresses the gentleman whose arguments he has undertaken to answer: ‘ I am almost
 ‘ afraid of being accused of impoliteness by adducing no-
 ‘ torious facts, which may look like gross and blunt con-
 ‘ tradictions of the assertions of a gentleman, who ought
 ‘ to have such good information upon the subject he treats.’
 Before I proceed to the examination of the instances of the practice of other States, in respect to the indiscriminate distribution of honours, emoluments, and confidential offices in the civil and military departments, on Protestants and Romanists (instances almost all confined to Germany), which are adduced by this *foi-disant* well-informed writer, I must remark, that the Government of every one of them is despotic, and either in the hands of a single person, or in those of an oligarchy; and that the people at large have no share in the supreme power of the state; that is, their Governments have no democracy intermixed with them: no assembly, elected by the people for a certain term, and whose members at its expiration become part of the mass of the people, forms part of their sovereignties; and no arguments deduced from the practice in such States in the particulars above-mentioned will apply to a Government partly democratic, and the most efficient part of which is such a popular assembly as above described. In such States any particular religious tenet held by a part of the people, hostile to the principles of Government, can have but a very small mischievous effect: many civil and

all military offices may be disposed of by such despotic governments to any persons they may think capable of serving them, without regard to their religious persuasions, and without inconvenience to the system of government ; for such officers can have no share or influence in the government, except through the medium of their despotic masters, who can dismiss them at their pleasure. In a Romish despotic government, the employment of Protestants in great and confidential offices can be of no public inconvenience, as well for the before-mentioned reason, as because there is no tenet of the Protestant religion which teaches the persecution of all Christians, princes and people, differing from Protestants in point of doctrine, as heretics with fire and sword ; no tenet which teaches them to overturn the government which does not share its sovereignty with a foreign tribunal. It is much safer for a Romish State to employ Protestants in great offices, than for a Protestant State to employ Romanists.

The Saxon State œconomy this author produces with a sort of triumphant exultation, as a decisive proof of the truth of his deductions ; ‘ he states it to be a Roman Catholic government in a Protestant country, the very reverse of Ireland : to make the contrast complete, Protestant and Catholic enjoy every privilege without distinction. *The revenue of the Church, small but adequate, is given to those who do the service of it in either way.* The peasantry are without any exception the happiest, most comfortable, and most contented in the world ; the higher ranks remarkable for their martial and honourable spirit, the Sovereign is a father of all his subjects. But a stronger and more extraordinary fact re-

‘ mains, to confound the friends and abettors of religious
 ‘ jealousy and animosity. The Protestants of Germany,
 ‘ certainly not indifferent to the interests of their religion,
 ‘ could not find a properer person to entrust them to, than
 ‘ to this very Roman Catholic Prince, who is selected by
 ‘ themselves to be the chief of the Protestant Union, and
 ‘ to watch over the treaties made in their favour.

But this well-informed author, notwithstanding the amazing extent of his knowledge, seems to be totally ignorant of the specific differences of the constitution of the British Empire from that of any other country in the world, and the necessary political effects of such differences in the internal regulations of a State, one efficient part of whose sovereignty is a popular assembly, when contrasted with the internal political regulations of a despotic government. The Elector of Saxony is as despotic a prince as any in Europe within his own territories ; his subjects, in a political sense, are complete slaves ; there is no spice of democracy mingled with his power : in his State the Sovereign may be truly called the father of his people, in the same sense that the author of ‘ *Killing no Murder*,’ gives that title to Cromwell. ‘ Your Highness,’ says he, ‘ *is the true father of your people, for we have nothing during your life that we can call our own.*’ If the subjects of this Elector, the highest ranks, as well as the peasantry, are the happiest and most contented in Europe, as this author states, it must follow that abject political slavery is productive of the greatest happiness to the subject ; a doctrine which will not be relished by the subjects of the British Empire : God preserve us from such happiness ! I remember an instance of the Elector of Saxony’s mild government of his subjects, which was
 published

published throughout Europe above thirty years ago. He received information that a Saxon peasant had killed a deer; he caused him to be seized, stripped naked, pinnioned, and strongly tied on the back of a stag, which was immediately turned loose into the forests: the wild animal, affrighted, and rather uneasy under so arbitrary an imposition, ran furiously through the woods, till the unhappy rider was torn to pieces by the projecting branches of trees, and the thorny brambles of the wild.

At the first dawning of the Reformation in Germany, the then Elector of Saxony, one of the most potent princes of the Germanic Union, became the professed patron of Luther; he protected him from the fury of the Romanists, and himself as well as his subjects became Protestants, as did many other German potentates with their people. The Emperor, at the instigation of the Pope, and other Romish ecclesiastics, commenced a furious war against these Protestants; it raged with great violence for many years, and incalculable mischief was done to both parties; the Elector of Saxony, as the most considerable Protestant prince, being at the head of the Protestants: till at length both sides, wearied and wasted by the calamities of war, entered into treaties of peace; the Elector of Saxony, then a Protestant, being selected by his Protestant co-estates as chief of the Union. (See Robertson's History of Charles the Fifth, vol. ii. book ii. page 100. ; book v. page 352. 355. ; vol. iii. book x. p. 201. octavo edition.) About the beginning of the present century, the then Elector of Saxony apostatized from the religion of his ancestors, and became a Romanist, his subjects being Protestants; and his successors have continued Romanists to this day. The ancestor of the Elector of Saxony, being a Protestant, was by the before-mentioned treaties acknowledged chief of the

the Protestant Germanic Union ; but all Germany knows that the present Elector, being a Romanist, is not considered or acknowledged as such, though the treaties exist ; and that he could not be considered as such, even if he were a Protestant, because he is infinitely inferior in power to the King of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, who is now in fact the head of the Protestant Germanic Union, and is so considered.

The Elector of Saxony being a despotic, in respect to his constitutional authority over his own subjects, is yet a dependant prince in respect to the Emperor and his co-estates, being but a member of the German Empire : hence he cannot attempt to innovate in the established religion of his country, and substitute the Romish faith in the room of the Protestant, because the Protestant States of the Empire would certainly interfere to prevent him, and would be obliged by the above-mentioned treaties to do so : his subjects, secured in the enjoyment of their religious establishment by the constitution of the German Empire, and their religion teaching them no doctrines hostile to their Romish Sovereign, acquiesce under the government of a Romanist : and as to the enjoyment of every privilege indiscriminately by Protestant and Romanist, very little mischief is to be apprehended on that account in a State, where the Sovereign is despotic, and the people entitled to no privilege, save what the Sovereign pleases to bestow : benefits springing entirely from his favour cannot with propriety be called privileges.

The above reasoning applies to every instance quoted by this author of the indiscriminate advancement of Romanists and Protestants under the German governments ; but he is not able to quote one instance of such indiscriminate

criminate advancement in any popular government in Christendom : the Swiss States were almost all oligarchical, and very despotic : and in the Dutch State, which had a great mixture of democracy in it, and which held out universal toleration and protection to the professors of all sects, no person of a different religious persuasion from that of their establishment, before the French subverted their constitution, was suffered to sit as a member of their States General.

This author, with no small degree of sophistry and assurance coupled together, observes, that the Saxon government is the direct reverse of that of Ireland, for there the government (that is, the Elector) is Roman Catholic, and the country Protestant ; thus indirectly asserting, that the religion of the people of Ireland in general is Romish, though the government be Protestant. The truth is, the religion of the people of Ireland, if determined by the religion of the majority reckoned by the poll, would be Romish by a majority of two to one : if reckoned by property, would be Protestant by a majority of forty to one ; so that it may be justly asserted from fair calculation, exclusive of its being the one established, that the religion of Ireland is Protestant. The author does not forget to insinuate in his account of Saxony, that Romish Irish priests should enjoy part at least of the revenue of the Church in Ireland, by observing, that in Saxony the *small but adequate* revenue of the Church is given to those who do the service of it in either way : which observation, however, is false with respect to that electorate in general. And this author's *extraordinary fact confounding all his opposers* turns out to be a fabrication of his own, the materials of which are fraud and ignorance.

This author attempts to furnish an argument in favour of his positions, from the liberality of the French monarchical government to their Protestant subjects: he asserts, ' that the Protestants in those parts of France ' where they were in any proportion to the Catholics, ' were exactly in the same situation as they. Such was ' the case of Alsatia ceded to France by the treaty of ' Munster; the rights of Protestants in that province were ' respected.' Alsace was no part of the realm of France, it was a part of Germany acquired by the arms and treachery of the French monarch: the inhabitants were Protestants. A treaty of peace being concluded between France and Germany, and this province ceded to France, the free exercise of the religion of the inhabitants was stipulated for, and made one of the conditions of the treaty; as the province bordered on the territories of the enemies of France, and might revolt, the French Government thought it prudent to reconcile the inhabitants to their new masters, by an adherence to the treaty so far as to indulge them in the free exercise of their religion: it was useful to the French to do so; and could not be detrimental, inasmuch as the people of the province have no share in the government, which is despotic: a sort of political necessity insured the observation of the treaty, otherwise it may be fairly presumed, that this most faithless of all nations would not have hesitated at violating the conditions. The conduct of that nation in violating the Edict of Nants, and persecuting the Protestants throughout all their ancient limits, in the true spirit of Popery, with fire, sword, and the gallies, particularly in Languedoc, where they continued to hunt them like wild beasts, till the dissolution of the monarchy, fully justifies such a presumption.

The

The author then states, ' that Mr. Neckar, who was
 ' Prime Minister, Marechal Saxe many years Com-
 ' mander in Chief of the armies in France, Marechals
 ' Lovendal, Luckner, Wurmsfer, and innumerable other
 ' Protestants, were high in civil and military rank in
 ' France.' I have already shown, that, as to the security
 of government and the religion established, it is but of
 little moment what the religious persuasion of military
 officers is in despotic monarchies, as was that of France;
 and that the religion even of civil officers in such govern-
 ments is not a matter of much public concern: yet I deny
 that there were innumerable instances in France before the
 Revolution, of Protestants being high in civil or military
 rank: the instances of that kind were very few, and the
 author has enumerated the most of them. But what in-
 fatuation induced him to resort to the instance of Mr.
 Neckar, a Protestant, being Prime Minister of France?
 He was indeed Prime Minister of that devoted country, and
 was by reputation a Calvinist, but in truth, an Atheist;
 and the fruits of his ministry in France were, the over-
 throw of its ancient government, the subversion of its estab-
 lished religion and of all Christianity, and the desolation
 of the kingdom. And this author holds up the fatal pro-
 motion in France of this monster of perfidy and treason,
 an enemy to the established religion and constitution of
 that country, as an argument to induce Irish Protestants
 to betray the sovereignty of the State into the hands of
 Irish Romanists, the inveterate enemies of its established
 Religion and Constitution.

This author, in page 39, makes the following obser-
 vation: ' One cannot help pitying a government, which
 ' seems to be in constant terror of the prosperity of its
 ' own

'own subjects. Their number, their riches, their spirit,
 'their civil and military talents, are so many objects of
 'fear.' This is his picture of the government of Ireland!
 The Irish government has used every endeavour which
 sound policy can dictate, to increase the prosperity of
 all its subjects: their number, their riches, their spirit,
 their civil and military talents, are the objects of its ap-
 plauses, of its proud and honourable exultation: but a
 certain class of Irish subjects are, from religious bigotry,
 incurable enemies to the constitution of their country in
 Church and State; sound policy directs, that such should
 be excluded from the sovereign power of the State, which
 they must wield, if invested with it, for the subversion of
 the constitution; and prevented from using either their
 number, their riches, their spirit, or their talents, for the
 ruin of their fellow-subjects and of the constitution. The
 Irish Protestants fear not Irish Romanists, either from
 their boasted numbers or puissance; they know their own
 strength, and rely on their own courage, of both which
 they have given Romish Rebels recent proofs; their con-
 duct in such exclusion is not the effect of fear, but of
 wisdom and prudence: it is not cowardice in the garrison
 of an impregnable fortress, the safety and protection of a
 realm, to refuse entrance into it to their irreconcilable
 enemies, whose numbers or courage, when on the outside,
 can be no objects of terror. How can it be said with jus-
 tice or reason, that Irish Protestants put any impediments
 in the road of Irish Romanists to wealth and prosperity,
 or in their paths to military renown? Is not the army
 now open to them? Are not trade, and all the avenues of
 honest industry, as open to them, as to their Protestant
 fellow-subjects? Are not their lives and properties equally
 protected by the laws? How false then, how malicious,
 how

how insolent, and how petulant, is the above invective of this Romish writer against the Irish Government !

I will now point the reader's attention to those parts of the author's pamphlet, in which he throws out the most audacious threats of rebellion and resistance against the lawful authority of the State. These he introduces under the guise of advice, or suggests them as the natural consequences of what he styles the oppression of the Romanists in Ireland by their Protestant fellow-subjects and the State. In pages 6, 7, and 8, he observes, ' that it ' is dangerous, in the present state of men's minds all ' over the world, to exclude formally three millions out ' of four, in a detached country, from the just and rea- ' sonable rights which they see their fellow-subjects en- ' joy ; and that the idea of preserving such an establish- ' ment by force is absurd and impracticable.' And then, after observing on the success of the Netherlands in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and their right to do so, *he insinuates that in Ireland, Separation from Great Britain, and Independency, should be maintained at all hazards ;* and concludes with the maxim of one of the French demagogues, *that insurrection is the most sacred of our duties ;* pretending to deduce the justice of these treasonable aphorisms from a passage in the pamphlet of his antagonist.

Further to stimulate the Irish Romanists to rebellion, and to sharpen their natural rancour against the British soldiery, he accuses the English Militia, who gallantly volunteered for the assistance of their brethren the Protestants of Ireland, of gratifying their lust by brutal violations of the Irish females, in the following passage :

' From

' *From accounts which the papers give of the gallantry of*
 ' *the British Militia with the fair, as well as in the field,*
 ' *one would imagine they had read Mr. C.'s pamphlet, and*
 ' *were imitating the Romans in settling the preliminaries of*
 ' *union with the Sabines.*' The good conduct and strict
 discipline of the British Militia, which lately came into
 Ireland, have been praised by the two Houses of Parlia-
 ment, and by every loyal man in the kingdom; and for
 this most groundless calumny the slanderous author had
 no other authority than his own malice. He then pro-
 ceeds, with the utmost virulence, to abuse the policy of
 Great Britain in respect to foreign nations, asserting that
 she has thereby ruined herself, and is now a bankrupt,
 with which it would be highly imprudent for Ireland to
 have any connexion. He lays to the charge of her Mi-
 nistry all the calamities which, as he states, have afflicted
 Ireland for a series of ages; and asserts that the dawn of
 improvement in the state of Ireland commenced with
 her asserting some degree of independence on England in
 the year 1780. (See pages 9, 10.) Then, after styling
 the Protestant Religion a Medusa's head, which paralyzes
 a large portion of our people, *or turns their arms against*
each other (thereby admitting, what he in other places
 denies, that the last Rebellion, as well as preceding ones,
 was a Romish rebellion), he recites the triumphs of the
 Republic of France, and magnifies her power: he states,
that a war between Great Britain and Ireland is not pro-
bable, if the people are satisfied; but is to be feared, if the
causes of discontent are not removed. By the people, this
 author, throughout his pamphlet, means Romanists ex-
 clusively; and the principal causes of complaint which
 he enumerates, are the exclusion of the members of the
 Romish sect from Parliament, and from the great offices

of the State ; that is, from a share in the sovereignty of the State ; thus declaring in the most explicit terms, *that the Irish Romanists will commence hostilities against Great Britain and the Protestants of Ireland, in confederacy with France, if they do not obtain a share in the sovereignty.* (See page 17.) He further proceeds thus : ‘ It is dangerous, it is almost treason against the cause of all regular society, *attacked as it is by powerful enemies*, to trifle in this manner with the feelings of three millions of people, by excluding them from those rights for which they are called upon to risk their lives.’ (See page 23.) Then, after acknowledging that the late Irish Rebels, forming the Directory, were in treaty with France for their assistance to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and praising this Directory for their principles of patriotism manifested in the conduct of the treaty, he proceeds to encourage rebellion, by insinuating the probability of success, from the situation of Ireland, and the certainty of French support. ‘ Of late,’ he observes, ‘ the theory of insurrection has almost forced itself upon every speculative mind. A province distant from the seat of empire is much more liable to the intrigues of an enemy than one that has it in its centre.’ (See page 24.) He proceeds in pretty much the same strain to page 30, in which he inserts a quotation from Mariana, importing, that all poor persons in a State will be enemies to it, if all hopes of emerging are taken away from them ; which may be very true, but gives no support to the author’s arguments. Mariana does not mean that all beggars in a State will rebel, if the hope of emerging into the sovereignty of the State is taken away from them ; he means the hope of emerging into opulence : such is the precise meaning of the passage,

sage. But the means of emerging from poverty into opulence are, by our Constitution, as open to poor Romanists as to poor Protestants. The author seems to have inserted the quotation for the mere purpose of showing his learning: it cannot be distorted to signify that beggars will be disaffected to the State, unless they have grounds to hope that they may be kings.

This author, then, for the mere purpose of inflammation, falls on the Irish Popery Code, which has been some time since, perhaps injudiciously, certainly too hastily, repealed. He thus describes it and its effects: 'Laws which for a century cramped the industry of a people, debarred them from education, armed the brother against the brother, and rewarded the son for betraying the father, excluded the Roman Catholics from Protestant schools, prevented them from having schools of their own, and proscribed foreign education.' (See pages 4. 10.) 'These laws left a people poor, ignorant, with little respect for law, and ferocious from a sense of injury. They rendered property insecure, prevented the cultivation of land, the interior confidence of families, the extension of trade, or the employment of the talents or genius of three fourths of the people in civil or military affairs.' (See page 34.) At present I shall only observe, that England had her Popery Code as well as Ireland, very similar to, and almost the same with the Irish; and that this Code, though the Irish one be repealed, is still in force, as to many parts of it, in England. I shall hereafter make further observations on this author's strictures on the Irish Popery Code; but shall first show that the strength and puissance of the Irish Romanists are not so great or formidable,

formidable, nor their threatened rebellion, even though supported by France, so dangerous to the Irish Government, or to the British Empire in general, as this author represents them. In the second place, I shall prove that the late Irish Rebellion was a Romish Rebellion: in doing which I shall be obliged to delineate some of the cruelties exercised by the Rebels on their Protestant fellow-subjects. In the third place, I shall show that all the rebellions of Irish Romanists are excited, encouraged, and even commanded, by the positive tenets of their religion: from whence it will directly follow as a corollary, that the mass of Irish Romanists, as long as they continue of that persuasion, must be justly considered by the State as subjects whose fidelity cannot be relied upon; and that such checks should be held over them as may prevent their disturbing the State, even after an Incorporating Union shall take place.

As to the first, I have already proved, that Irish Romanists do not exceed Irish Protestants in number, in a greater proportion than that of two to one; and this proof I have founded on every rational ground of inquiry or investigation, which have in that particular been ever adopted. (See Appendix, No. 1.) I have already shown, as to the mass of property in Ireland, real and personal, that the part of it in the hands of Protestants is to that in the hands of Romanists in the proportion of forty to one. (See Appendix, No. 1.) Now as the strength of a nation, for defence and offence, is in a ratio composed of its numbers and its wealth, so likewise is the relative strength of two contending parties within it: hence it is demonstrable, that the Protestants of Ireland alone are fully able to repress the threatened rebellion of the Irish Romanists;
and

and this was fully and practically proved in the late Romish Rebellion, which was suppressed by the Army, Militia, and Protestant Yeomanry of Ireland.

It is well known in Ireland, that this Rebellion might have been prevented and nipped in the bud, if vigorous measures had been timely adopted by the Irish Government. The then Lord Lieutenant (Earl Camden) was a man of great honour and integrity, and a determined friend to the Constitution in Church and State. The principal men in power in the kingdom were of similar character. The information respecting the schemes and designs of the conspirators was complete, and called for the most speedy and strenuous exertions of the State to defeat them. The Irish Parliament conferred the most ample authority on the Executive Government; yet the delay of exertion was remarkable and notorious. Most thinking people attributed the backwardness of Government in seizing and punishing these Catholics, and their associates, to a British influence in our councils. It is supposed that the powers of the Chief Governor were shackled by orders from England. The state of affairs in Ireland had been grossly misrepresented to men in power in England, and these misrepresentations had taken deep root. The late Mr. *Edmund Burke*, an Irish gentleman resident in England, had projected the total subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland so early as the year 1761; and having ingratiated himself with the Secretary of the Marquis of Halifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he returned to his native country in his suite. He then began his operations for carrying his project into execution. He found, however, the current of opinion in Ireland against his innovations

innovations too strong for his stemming it. England was at that time triumphant over France, and no assistance was to be expected from that quarter; and his own credit in England was not then near so great as it afterwards was. He was obliged to suspend his operations at that time, and retire unsuccessful to England. As soon, however, as the American war blazed forth, he recommenced them with all the vigour in his power. He published a Letter, addressed to a Romish Irish Nobleman, which is exactly of the same nature with the pamphlet I am now remarking on: indeed all the arguments in this pamphlet are taken from the Letter. Mr. Burke therein paints in the most glowing colours, the hardships which Romanists endured in Ireland from the effect of the Popery Laws; he boldly asserts their undoubted right to every privilege enjoyed by Irish Protestants; he exaggerates their number and strength, and threatens the British Empire with the exertion of them against its then tottering power, as he describes it: in short, he dwells on every topic of inflammation of Irish Romanists, on every encouragement, on every provocation to revolt against Britain in her then distressed situation; mixing, throughout the whole, the grossest misrepresentations of the state of Ireland. This Letter he followed with a succession of publications, all in the same strain, under the titles of Letters, Speeches, and Essays, in the daily Newspapers, Reviews, Magazines, Annual Registers, &c. and continued them to the day of his death. His parents were Irish Romanists; he was endowed with very showy talents; his style was elegant; he was well read in all parts of polite literature; he was laborious and indefatigable: but his vanity, the attendant on a weak judgment, was unbounded; and his zeal for
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promoting all the political views of Popery was enthusiastic. This zeal will account for the extraordinary anomalies in his political conduct. He had recommended himself to the late Marquis of Rockingham, and by his interest he obtained a seat in the British House of Commons. During the American and French war, no man in England was a stronger advocate for the Americans. In his speeches in Parliament he supported all their pretensions, he justified all their proceedings, and often pointed out the measures, in the British House of Commons, for distressing Britain, which the Americans afterwards pursued; in short, on all occasions he appeared a determined republican, and at the same time used the most strenuous efforts to urge the Irish Romanists to revolt, for the purpose of increasing the embarrassments of the British Government. (See the Annual Register, and History of the late War, chiefly written by Mr. Burke.) At the time it pleased the Almighty to visit His Majesty with a grievous malady, which suspended his exercise of the kingly functions, when his recovery was doubtful, and the mind of every honest and loyal man in the nation sinking under dismal apprehensions of impending evils, and his heart bursting with grief for the danger of his beloved Sovereign, Mr. Burke exultingly declared in the House of Commons, *that God had hurled His Majesty from his throne.* Impious triumph of republican malignity! At no very long interval after this transaction, the French Revolution blazed forth like a volcano, consumed the Monarchy, Religion, Laws, and Constitution of that country; established a Republic, and proclaimed war and hostility against all Kings. In the progress of their career, the French leaders reduced to practice the whole theory of all Mr. Burke's republican lessons,

lessons, which he had read with so much success to the Americans, from whom the French derived all their political instruction. Mr. Burke suddenly renounced all his former principles, and employed his polluted pen, yet stained with democratic ink, in reprobating, with the utmost energy, all the proceedings of the French Democrats, though their enormities were committed in conformity to the principles laid down in his former political lectures. It must be admitted that he sung his palinodia with great success and applause. He exposed, with much justice, force, and perspicuity, the treason, wickedness, and cruelty, of the French Anarchists; developed their arts and deceptions with great acuteness, and raised the abhorrence of the British nation, as well against them, as against a faction of atheistical republicans at home, who attempted to spread the contagion of the desolating Gallic doctrines through the British dominions: But to what cause can this sudden change in Mr. Burke's political conduct be attributed? I can guess at no other than his enthusiastic zeal for the advancement of the political pursuits and interests of the Romish Church, of which he has shown himself, for a series of years, the professed advocate. The French atheistical usurpers proscribed Christianity and all its professors: they consequently proscribed Popery, the heretofore established religion of France, with all its interests, and confiscated the whole Church Revenues. This excited Mr. Burke's rage and resentment against them; and hence his reprobation of their republicanism. In one of his publications he complains, in the bitterness of his heart, that they have pulled down the *Majesty* of Religion; and Popery certainly does affect great external pomp and grandeur. However, if any person shall suggest a more

probable cause of the sudden alteration in the political conduct of Mr. Burke, I shall readily relinquish my hypothesis. This gentleman, very unfortunately for the repose of Ireland, and consequently of Great Britain, has influenced some men of great rank and power in England to concur with him in the project of communicating with the Irish Romanists the supreme power of the State, by admitting them into Parliament; and has had the address, at the same time, to persuade them, by gross mistatement, that the Romanists are powerful enough in Ireland to compel an acquiescence in such their ambitious views, and that it is therefore good policy to give that which cannot be withheld. He has also, by the same means, persuaded them, in defiance of truth, that the Irish Romanists are grievously oppressed by their Protestant fellow-subjects; that they are Monarchists; the Irish Protestants, Republicans. He has worked on their generosity, by preaching up the doctrines of Liberality, Conciliation, Emancipation, and Reform; concealing under such specious names and titles, Romish Persecution, Rancour, Subversion and Proscription of the Protestant Religion, Democracy, and Separation, the certain consequences of the success of his projects.

Evident marks of the progress of Mr. Burke's doctrines in favour of the Irish Romanists may be discovered in most of the Speeches of great and powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England on the subject of Union, copies of which have been published, and will be hereafter noticed. *This sect of British Politicians may be distinguished by the name of Burkists*; and from the power and influence of this sect, fatally misinformed and misled with respect to the affairs and state of Ireland,

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the procrastination and delay of vigorous measures for prevention of the Rebellion are generally attributed ; and to the same source may be traced many of the measures lately pursued, and, I am sorry to say, still pursuing, in Ireland, which give the highest disgust to the whole body of Irish Protestants, and which, instead of promoting an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, are in fact throwing obstacles in the way of it ; all which, however, I have the strongest hopes that the good sense of the nation will surmount.

I have stated that the late Irish Rebellion was suppressed by the Protestants of Ireland. To prove that fact, it is only necessary to recur to dates. The Rebellion broke out on the 23d of May 1798. The whole Regular Army, the Militia, and the Yeomanry, then in the kingdom, were the proper forces of Ireland, and paid by Ireland. Most of the regular troops had, at different periods before, been sent out of the kingdom on foreign service, and their places supplied by Fencible Regiments, many of them Scotch ; but as these troops were paid by the Irish Treasury, and were sent in lieu of the Irish trained troops employed on foreign expeditions, I do not account them British troops sent to our assistance in preventing or suppressing the Rebellion. On the 23d of May 1798, the day the Rebellion broke out, the towns of Naas, Carlow, Baltinglass, Monastereven, and Clane, were attacked, and the Rebels beaten at them all, principally by the Irish Militia and Yeomen. On the 29th of the same month, General Sir James Duff defeated a large body of Rebels at Kildare, and opened the passage from Dublin to Munster, which had been obstructed by them. On the same day

the town of Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, was attacked by a great body of Rebels, commanded by one Murphy, the Romish Priest of a neighbouring parish. It was defended by the Protestant Yeomanry alone. It was an open place, without fortification, and the Yeomen fought with them at the outskirts of the town. The contest was long and bloody. The Yeomanry amounted to about three hundred only; the Rebels to more than twice as many thousands. Forty-seven of the Yeomanry were killed, and above five hundred of the Rebels. When the Romish inhabitants of the town found their rebel friends recoiling, they set fire to the houses, mostly thatched, in the rear of the Yeomanry, and obliged them, from smoke and heat, to file off from the town, which the Rebels then entered; and this gallant body of men retreated unmolested to Wexford, about eleven miles. The Rebels had, on the preceding day, defeated a party of about one hundred of the North Cork Regiment of Militia, put them every man to death, except three who escaped, and got possession of their muskets and ammunition, with which they greatly galled the Enniscorthy Yeomanry. On this success, the Peasantry of the country, being for the most part Romanists, joined the Rebels, and they marched on to Wexford, being a sea-port, and the county town. There were but few troops in the place. Some Gentlemen in the neighbourhood raised Yeomanry Corps; but having imprudently enrolled Romanists among them, they to a man deserted to the Rebels, with their arms and ammunition; and there were multitudes of Romish inhabitants in the town, who showed evident signs of disaffection. These circumstances induced the Commander of the troops to take the resolution of abandon-
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ing it, and marching to Duncannon Fort, a strong place about thirty miles distant, whither he immediately marched, with all the Protestant Yeomanry of both the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy; and the Rebels took possession of this sea-port town on the 30th of May 1798.

On this success of the Rebels, the whole Romanists of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, and Carlow, joined them. They defeated a detachment of the army, which had marched from Dublin to the relief of the Wexford Protestants, under Colonel Walpole, a brave man, but an unskilful commander, who suffered himself to be surprised by this banditti. He paid the forfeit of his life to his rashness: his party retired into the county of Wicklow, and took post at Arklow. The Rebels, elated with this success, mustered their forces, and marched to attack the town of Ross, which, with Duncannon Fort and the town of Newtown-Barry, were the only places in the county of Wexford occupied by the Loyalists. The Regiment of Militia of the county of Dublin, commanded by Lord Mountjoy, with some other troops and Yeomanry Corps, had taken post in Ross, all under the command of Generals Johnson and Eustace, both Irish officers. Their whole force amounted to about fifteen hundred. The town is not fortified: there are some remains of an old wall, which formerly surrounded it, but it is now in ruins. The Rebels commenced the assault with a body of twenty-five thousand men. The troops received them outside the town. The Rebels, to disorder the troops, drove before them, with their pikes, a vast number of horses and oxen. They had some field-pieces and howitzers, which they had taken

at the rout of a small detachment of the garrison of Duncannon Fort, sent out against them very imprudently by the Governor ; and also when they defeated the troops under Colonel Walpole : their leaders had also distributed among them a considerable quantity of whiskey, to render them the more desperate by intoxication. They attacked the troops with great fury ; and Lord Mountjoy was killed, gallantly fighting at the head of his regiment. This Nobleman was the first person who introduced a bill into the Irish Parliament for the repeal of a part of the Popery Code, and unfortunately felt the bitter effects and inefficiency of his own system of conciliation. The weight of the Rebel column, after a furious contest, forced the troops into the town, and the battle was continued fiercely in the streets ; till at length the courage and discipline of the Loyalists prevailed, and the Rebels were compelled, after a dreadful carnage, to retreat. Their slain in the streets of the town and suburbs amounted to two thousand two hundred, exclusive of numbers who crawled away from the battle, and died afterwards of their wounds. The Military were so fatigued, that they were not able to pursue them. The battle, from the commencement of the assault to the final retreat of the Rebels, lasted eight hours. This was the first great and decisive advantage gained over the Rebels. The battle was fought on the 5th of June 1798, and was gained principally by the undaunted bravery of the Irish Militia and Yeomanry, conducted by two Irish officers.

The Rebel Army not being dispersed at Ross, their leaders determined to try their fortune again; and in a few days after their unsuccessful attack on Ross, they marched

marched to the other side of the county of Wexford, and assaulted the town of Arklow, lying on the great road from Wexford to Dublin, about thirty-three miles from that city. They commenced their assault on this town, which is also unfortified, with a body of eighteen thousand men. The troops quartered there under General Needham did not exceed twelve hundred ; notwithstanding which the Rebels were repulsed with great slaughter, chiefly by the courage of the regiments of Cavan Militia, commanded by Colonel Barry, and Durham Fencibles, commanded by Colonel Skerret, together with a considerable body of Yeomanry.

On the 7th of June 1798, a body of Rebels suddenly assembled in the county of Antrim in the northern part of the kingdom, rushed furiously into the town of Antrim, where many of the gentlemen of the county, and several justices of the peace, were assembled, and among the rest Lord O'Neil : a skirmish ensued between the Rebels and the Yeomen of the town, who, though surprised, immediately ran to their arms, and collected themselves into a body. Lord O'Neil received a mortal wound. It was remarked, as in the case of Lord Mountjoy, that this Peer, a very amiable man, when he sat in the House of Commons, was one of the most zealous supporters of the repeal of the Popery Code, and such were the fruits of his exertions in that cause ! About the same time the Rebels rose in a part of the county of Down, but were immediately attacked, defeated, and dispersed, by General Nugent, who commanded the troops at Belfast. This insurrection broke out on the estate of the Earl of Moira, most of whose tenants were actively engaged in it ; which tends to show how miserably his Lordship was deceived ; who
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not long before had visited his estate in Down, and resided in his mansion-house at Ballinahinch for some time ; and on his return to England praised the exemplary loyalty of the inhabitants of the county of Down in the House of Peers, and particularly of his own tenants ; yet this very town was then a magazine of arms for the Rebels, and his tenants were deeply engaged in the conspiracy for a Rebellion. Such were the dissimulation and secrecy of these traitors, that they could impose on this loyal Peer, in his own mansion-house, on his own estate ! These were the only insurrections in the north of Ireland ; they were quelled in a few days.

The Rebels in the county of Wexford, where the chief force of the Leinster insurgents was concentrated, after their defeats at Ross and Arklow already mentioned, drew their main body together, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, to Enniscorthy ; and encamped on a high and steep hill, called Vinegar Hill, adjacent to that town, which it overlooks and commands ; the Slaney, a very considerable river, running at the base of the hill in a winding channel, and washing one half of its circumference. This was a very strong post, and if well defended might have bid defiance to a considerable army. Defeated as the Rebels had been, they seemed to have given up the idea of offensive operations, till their French succours should arrive, which they impatiently expected ; and relying on the strength of their position, determined to await there the attack of the Royal army, which they knew was assembling on all sides : they had at the same time a numerous garrison in the town of Wexford, a seaport ; and were in possession of the whole sea-coast of that county from Arklow to the mouth of Waterford harbour ;
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all which their position effectually covered ; and the run from thence to the coast of France, particularly to Brest, was short ; they had some good cannon and howitzers, and were in no want of ammunition. The Royal army, a great part of which was Militia and Yeomen, attacked them on the 20th of June 1798, drove them from their position after a feeble resistance ; and the whole body would have been killed or taken prisoners, had not one column of the army, by some mistake of orders, marched in a direction different from that in which it ought to have been conducted, and did not arrive at its appointed station in proper time ; so that a gap was left by which almost the whole rebel army escaped, but in the greatest disorder ; part of them flying towards the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of mountains separating the counties of Carlow and Wexford.

The Rebels in the town of Wexford, hearing of the defeat, abandoned the town, and fled with that party which shaped its course to the Wicklow mountains. The rebel party which retreated towards the mountains of Carlow, got from thence into the Kilkenny mountains, and there assaulted the little town of Castlecomer ; the garrison of Kilkenny, which had marched from thence to oppose them, commanded by Sir Charles Asgill, declining to attack this routed banditti, headed by a Romish priest, of the name of Murphy, a drunken ruffian : but a considerable body of Yeomanry from the adjacent Queen's County, with the gallant Colonel Pole at their head, advanced against them, compelled them to retreat, and pursued them with activity : their brave leader sent advice of his success to Sir Charles Asgill, who again marched out of Kilkenny, joined the Yeomanry, and both fell on
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this party of fugitive Rebels, in number about five thousand, routed them with a very great slaughter, and completely dispersed them : Murphy, their leader, fled drunk from the field of battle, and was shortly after taken at Tullow in the county of Carlow, and hanged. All these transactions happened within a few days after the rout of the Rebels at Vinegar Hill on the 20th of June 1798; and from that time it may be justly said, that the Rebellion was extinguished : for though the party which fled to the mountains of Wicklow was compelled by hunger to descend into the plain country, and to make an inroad into the county of Meath, yet it was divided into small detached bodies, which were hunted from place to place by the Yeomanry, and speedily destroyed ; very few of them escaping back to the mountains. In fact, the battle of Vinegar Hill put an end to the last Irish Rebellion.

The dates of each memorable action in this short, but bloody and wasteful Rebellion, are noted, to prove, that the suppression of it was effected solely by the Troops, Militia, and Yeomen of Ireland, without any assistance whatsoever from England, and without the smallest interference of the Marquis Cornwallis, our present Lord Lieutenant : and a concise detail of the principal operations is given, to convince British Statesmen, that Irish Romanists are not so formidable as to entitle them to such consideration as they at present seem to attach to them ; and that Irish Protestants are not so weak, that it has become necessary for the British Government to enter into a treaty with Irish Romanists, and to sacrifice the British Constitution, as settled at the glorious Revolution, at the shrine of their ambition, for the preservation of the Protestants of Ireland ; as seems to be an opinion entertained (or rather pretended

pretended to be entertained) by some English Statesmen; if credit is to be given to the pamphlets published as the purport of several Speeches made in the British Parliament on the subject of the Union. This account of the suppression of the Rebellion also proves, that the idea of keeping up the present establishment in Ireland by force (if the Rebellions of Irish Romanists shall make force necessary) is not impracticable and absurd, as is dogmatically and insolently asserted by the Romish writer already so often mentioned. How short would be the existence, not only of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, but of the Irish Protestants themselves, were they reduced to rely on the justice and mercy of their Romish fellow-subjects!

The Marquis Cornwallis landed in Ireland, and was sworn into his office of Lord Lieutenant on the 20th of June 1798, subsequent to the signal defeats of the Rebels at Ross and Arklow, on the very day of their decisive discomfiture at Vinegar Hill, and after the total suppression of the insurrection in the North of Ireland. The first regiment of English Militia which arrived in Ireland, landed in Dublin on the 29th of June 1798; it was the Buckinghamshire regiment: it was followed on the 1st of July 1798 by the Warwickshire regiment: the arrivals of the other regiments of English Militia were all subsequent. They were not sent to suppress the Rebellion, but to assist his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland in repelling a French invasion, which was then expected, and was shortly afterwards unsuccessfully attempted by the enemy. Every loyal man in the kingdom welcomed these generous volunteers in the service of their King and Country, with joy and gratulation; but this their reception was not owing to any idea entertained in Ireland, that she lay under any particular

particular obligation to Great Britain for such assistance ; because it is as much the interest of Great Britain to assist Ireland in repelling the common enemy, as it would be the interest of Ireland to assist Great Britain on a similar emergency : they are both parts of one and the same empire, and their interests, in respect to defence against a common enemy, cannot be divided.

Observations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'Arguments for and against an Union considered.'

In this place it is proper to mention a pamphlet published in Ireland, entitled, '*Arguments for and against an Union considered,*' being the pamphlet which this Romish writer professes to answer, and which he calls Mr. C.'s pamphlet. It is generally supposed to have been written by a Gentleman high in the confidence of Government, and contains many strong arguments in favour of an Union ; yet there are some parts of it which merit reprehension ; and particularly those in which the author grounds his arguments for an Union, on the power of the Irish Romanists : he uses too frequently the argument of Intimidation to prevail on the Protestants of Ireland to resort to the asylum of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, for protection against the irresistible power of the Irish Romanists, as he represents it. The supposed author is an Englishman, and it has given me no small degree of uneasiness to observe, that a Gentleman of abilities, as he certainly is, has so often deserted the irrefragable arguments for the expediency, and even the necessity of an Incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, arising from considerations of the present state of Europe, and evident mutual advantage of both countries ; and resorted to arguments of terror, grounded on unsubstantial, fantastic, and fabulous representations ; as old women frighten froward children in a nursery to compliance, by stories

stories of fairies and hobgoblins. I am as sincerely and zealously attached to the measure of an Incorporating Union, as any Minister or individual in the British Empire, can be : but I disdain to support so great, so important, so necessary a measure, by such frivolous and puerile arguments : and when I find such resorted to by great Statesmen, I am induced to suspect, that some portentous innovation in the constitution of the British Empire is meditated, under the cloak of this salutary measure ; and that Britons are to be reconciled to an acquiescence in such innovation, by fraudulently persuading them, that the measure could not be effected, but through the medium of the innovation. *Aliquid monstri alant !*

This Gentleman in his pamphlet states, that Irish Romanists are to Irish Protestants in the proportion of three to one ; this proportion is very rashly adopted from the calculations of a seditious Romish assembly, which was collected some years ago in the city of Dublin, and which styled itself the Catholic Convention ; it prepared a Petition to His Majesty on behalf of the Irish Romanists, which was a collection of impudent falsehoods, misrepresentations, and groundless calumnies against their Protestant fellow-subjects. This statement I have already refuted. (See Appendix, No. 1.) He then states, that the Irish Protestants have been obliged to rely upon British assistance for the preservation of their property and existence at different periods. This is very true ; and the assistance has been furnished, because the Irish Protestants were attacked by the Irish Romanists, for their attachment to the constitution in Church and State, as established in England ; and their fidelity to the English Crown ; and because it was absolutely necessary for England to support

support them, or abandon Ireland, part of her dominions; and she might have as well abandoned Yorkshire: she assisted the Irish Protestants for her own emolument; they were fighting her battles: but the inference attempted to be drawn from it in the pamphlet is, that the Irish Protestants are not *now* able to preserve their property and existence from destruction by the Irish Romanists, without the assistance of Great Britain: this I trust is already satisfactorily proved not to be a fact. At the Revolution the Irish Romanists were completely conquered, their power reduced, and the Irish Protestant interest so firmly established, and placed on such solid foundations, that it has been ever since able to support itself against the assaults of the Romanists, without the assistance of Great Britain; and is now fully able so to do: all that Irish Protestants require from their brethren in England is, that they will not be cheated into a support of the Irish Romanists against them, and in fact against themselves, by the misrepresentations and pernicious doctrines of the disciples of Mr. Burke, the modern apostle of Popery: they deprecate the effects on the constitution of the spirit of Burkesism in England. Certain it is, that the Irish Protestants would not be able to support their properties and existence against the Irish Romanists assisted by a strong French fleet and army, without the assistance of Great Britain; but in such case they claim such assistance, not as a boon, but as a right; not on their own account alone, but on that of Great Britain also: Ireland is a part of the British Empire: as such she is engaged in the present war with France; and the loss of Ireland would be attended by a prodigious diminution of the strength, probably by the destruction of that Empire: it could not receive a greater injury, a more deadly wound, by the French occupation

occupation of part of the island of Great Britain, than by the French occupation of Ireland: and when the British Government, or those employed by them, argue on the presumed weakness of the Protestants of Ireland, they are in fact depreciating their own strength, inviting French invasion, and exciting Irish Romanists to Rebellion!

The most dangerous and reprehensible paragraph in the last-mentioned pamphlet is the following: ‘ Whilst Ireland remains a separate country from Great Britain, Great Britain is not pledged on any specific principle to support one *sect* in Ireland more than another: if she cannot preserve the connexion of the two kingdoms in their establishment, their power, and their property, I know not by what tie she is debarred from assisting the Catholics; for whilst the kingdoms are separate and independent, Ireland, *except where the Crown is concerned*, is merely bound by the ties of interest to England, and in a similar manner England is only bound by the ties of interest, *and the rights of the Crown*, to Ireland: she is pledged to preserve Ireland to the British Crown, but not to any particular means, or any particular principles for maintaining that connexion.’ Here then is a public declaration by a Gentleman, supposed to stand very high in the confidence of both the Irish and English Administrations, and who holds an employment of great trust under Government, that it is totally immaterial to the English nation, whether Protestantism or Popery be the established religion of Ireland. His Romish antagonist compares the Protestant religion to a Medusa’s head; he bestows the title of *Sect* upon it. But it is worth while a little to examine the premises, from which this extraordinary conclusion, that Great Britain is not

bound to support the Protestant Religion, more than the Romish, in Ireland, is deduced : the one is, that the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is separate from, and independent of, the kingdom of Great Britain. This premis is false, for the kingdom of Ireland, in its present state, is inseparably annexed, united to, and dependant on the Imperial Crown of Great Britain : the supreme Executive Power in Great Britain and Ireland is vested in the same person ; but the supreme Executive Power in both kingdoms, is one of the three branches of the supreme Legislative Power in both ; so that the two kingdoms have even part of their Legislative Powers common to both. No Act of Parliament can pass in Ireland until after it has been sent into England, and has there obtained the approbation of the British Cabinet, and has the great seal of England affixed to it ; the Government of England, therefore, can, at its discretion, prevent the enactment of any law by the Legislature of Ireland : these are surely strong bands of dependance of Ireland on Great Britain ; and in fact, in the present situation of the two kingdoms, the connexion between them, and dependance of one on the other, are so strong, that the Anti-Unionists, as is already observed, found on it their most powerful argument against an Incorporating Union, alledging that the two kingdoms are now inseparably united, and that no further Union is necessary. His second premis is, that, in their present state, Great Britain cannot preserve the connexion of the two kingdoms in their establishment, their power, and their property : it is true this is introduced hypothetically, with an *if*, but the conclusion drawn from it is absolute, at least so far so, that without an Incorporating Union it is to be taken as absolute. But this premis is as false as the other ; for the Irish Protestants themselves,

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if Great Britain does not take a part against them, are able enough to preserve their establishment, their power and property, and their connexion with Great Britain, in defiance of the threats or rebellions of Irish Romanists; and no doubt can be entertained that Great Britain has power sufficient to do the same: so that the conclusion, that Great Britain is not bound to support the Irish Protestant more than the Irish Romanist, unlogically deduced from one false, and one hypothetic premis implying a falsity, falls to the ground. But the assertions, that Great Britain is not bound by any specific principle to support one more than the other; and that as she is only bound to secure Ireland to the British Crown, without being bound to any specific measures for so doing, she may effect this, by giving her support to the Romanists, and crushing the Protestants in Ireland; require some further animadversion.

King James the Second was driven from his Throne by the Revolution of 1688, for attempting to place Romanists, both in Great Britain and Ireland, on an equal footing in respect to all civil privileges, with his Protestant subjects; and his Romish issue, if any he had, together with all the next heirs of the Crown, being Romanists, on the demise of his Protestant issue without issue, were declared by Act of Parliament incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and the succession limited to his next Protestant relations, the issue of the Princess Sophia, grand-daughter of King James the First, as if the intermediate Romish heirs were dead: and his present Majesty, whom God long preserve, under that title, now sits on the Imperial Throne of the British Empire. Here then is a King dethroned, the hereditary succession interrupted, and turned

into the Protestant channel, merely for the purpose of securing a succession of Protestant Monarchs to Great Britain and Ireland : a fundamental principle of our constitution is varied by a condition, to wit, that the next heir shall succeed to the Throne only on the terms of his being a Protestant. Does not His Majesty hold his Crown by this Protestant title, and is he not bound to swear at his Coronation, that he will to the utmost of his power inviolably maintain the Protestant Religion as established in Ireland, as well as in Great Britain ? Are not His Majesty and his successors bound so to swear, as well by the Act of the 1st of William and Mary, as by the Articles of the Union of England and Scotland, and the Act confirming them ? Why was the Crown limited to the Protestant heirs only, and why was such variation made in our ancient law of Hereditary Succession ? Was it not to prevent, as far as human wisdom could provide, all future attempts to give Popery an establishment, either in Great Britain or Ireland ? Is not Great Britain bound by a specific principle to support the Protestant Religion, in opposition to Popery, within herself ? And is she not bound by the same specific principle to the same conduct in Ireland to the utmost of her power ? How then can this Gentleman support his position, that Great Britain is not bound by any specific principle to support the Protestant Religion, rather than Popery, in Ireland ? It is an instance among many to be found in his pamphlet, how far men of good abilities may be led to advance the most unwarrantable positions, when they endeavour to deduce conclusions unsupported by the substantial pillars of Reason and Fact. Such is the nature of all his arguments of intimidation in favour of an Union.

I once heard it roundly asserted, that if the Houses of Lords and Commons should agree on a bill for subverting the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, His Majesty, notwithstanding his Coronation Oath, would be bound to give it the Royal assent, and thereby establish it as a law, because his Coronation Oath in all particulars is so to be construed, that it is not binding against the opinion of the two Houses. I never can agree with such reasoning—I cannot find any such saving in the Coronation Oath: it is an absolute Oath; and I never can allow that the two Houses of Parliament have any such power, as that of dispensing with the obligations of positive Oaths: I believe and hope, that the Parliament never will assume the power of absolving from the observance of Oaths: it would thereby assume the power arrogated by the Pope, which is so much and so justly reprobated by all good Christians. And as His Majesty is bound by his Coronation Oath inviolably to maintain the Protestant Religion as it is now established in Ireland, so is he bound to resist all concessions of privileges to any class of his subjects, which would impair or weaken that establishment; though perhaps they would not be at first attended, or immediately followed, by its total subversion.

This Gentleman has also stated very erroneously, as a known historical fact, that the Irish House of Commons was framed with the sole view of excluding Roman Catholics. The fact is quite otherwise: the assertion is a slander on the Irish House of Commons, invented by our modern Jacobin Reformers of Parliament; and is refuted by all history and records. (See Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, pages 11. 13. 18, 19.) I am sur-

prised that he could be hurried into such strange mistakes: I have heretofore fully refuted this assertion, in my 'Answer to Mr. Grattan's Address,' from undoubted authority of history and records; and any person who wishes to be informed on this head, may be satisfied by reading part of that answer, under the title of 'Remarks on Mr. Grattan's Account of the Creation of Boroughs.' Romanists were excluded from Parliament by tests imposed by Acts of Parliament: a demonstration, if History had been silent on the point, that the House of Commons was framed antecedent to the exclusion of Romanists: and these tests were imposed from necessity; the Romanists by rebellions and massacres, which had their origin in their religious principles, having proved the impracticability of communicating the supreme authority of the State with them. Romanists are excluded from seats in the Parliament of Great Britain by the imposition of the same test oaths. Will this Gentleman assert, that the British House of Commons was framed with the sole view of excluding Romanists? He has many other objectionable passages in his pamphlet, of which his antagonist, the writer of '*The Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' has not failed to take the advantage: I am very sorry that the merit of many excellent arguments in favour of an Union contained in it should be lessened by such crudities; particularly as I have a great respect and esteem for the supposed author of it: and I would not have taken any notice of his pamphlet, except to commend it, had not his antagonist availed himself of the mistakes and misstatements in it, and thereby put me to the necessity, in exposing his mischievous positions, of animadverting in some degree on this performance.

It

It is now time to refute the parts of the Romish author's pamphlet, in which he attempts, rather to insinuate than prove, that the late Rebellion in Ireland was not a Romish Rebellion. He knew if he ventured to make such an assertion directly, he laid himself open to direct refutation, and provoked it: he therefore chose rather to make use of a mode of desultory argument on this weak side of his defence of Irish Romanists, from the too well founded objections to their pretensions, arising from their open acts of hostility against their Protestant countrymen, by aiming detached strokes of accusation against some reputed Protestants, who were concerned in the Rebellion. This mode of defence of his party is contrary to the general tenour of his argument; which is, that the Irish Romanists are excluded from equal privileges with their fellow-subjects, that their number and property entitle them to these privileges, that the exclusion therefrom warrants their hostility to the State, and that their propensity to such hostility will continue as long as the exclusion, and will break out into open acts of violence on every proper opportunity, and that the late Rebellion was the consequence of such exclusion; thereby in fact admitting, that it was a Romish Rebellion. In page 22 he has the following paragraph: 'No doubt a connexion with France has lately been renewed, but those who took the lead in it were of all descriptions, but persons chiefly Presbyterians and Protestants; of five men who composed the (Irish) Directory, four were Protestants, although of any other five men in the country, four were Catholics.' In page 11 he thus writes: 'May not the present misfortunes of Ireland be rather ascribed to the efforts of a party (the Protestants) to force on us again our childish trammels which we had outgrown? This

Continuation of the
 Strictures
 on 'The
 Case of
 Ireland
 Re-considered.'

‘ accounts for the union of all descriptions of men in
 ‘ the late *opposition to Government*.’ It is worthy of
 notice, that he styles Rebellion, *Opposition to Govern-*
ment; so indeed it is with a vengeance ! In page 47 is
 the following observation : ‘ It is difficult to compre-
 ‘ hend the wisdom of that system, which drove Protestant,
 ‘ Presbyterian, and Catholic, into a desperate union against
 ‘ it.’ There are many other strokes of the same nature
 dispersed through his pamphlet. To begin with the first
 assertion ; that of the Irish Directory four were Protestants,
 and only one Romanist ; the truth is, there was not
 of the five a Protestant : four of them were professed
 Deists or Atheists, disciples of Mr. Thomas Paine ; and
 the fifth, M^cNevin, was a bigotted Romanist : he de-
 clared indeed, on his examination before the Committee
 of the House of Lords, that he and his party meant to
 subvert the present Protestant Church Establishment, and
 not to establish any religion in its room, but he well knew
 that the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Ire-
 land would of itself be the establishment of Popery.
 There was not one Protestant engaged in the Rebellion,
 except a few of the meanest of the Dissenting class, in a
 corner of the North of Ireland, unless the avowed dis-
 ciples of Mr. Paine are to be accounted Protestants. These
 Dissenters were seduced into it, by plausible pretences of
 Reform of Parliament and Abolition of Tithes : but the
 barbarous conduct of the Leinster Rebels, in massacring
 all Protestants they could lay their hands on in cold blood,
 soon convinced them of their error ; and one of their
 leaders, an attorney by profession, being taken and
 hanged, at his execution declared that he and his
 party were then fully convinced, if they had succeeded,
 that they must have fought the battle over again ; that
 is,

is, that they would have to fight their Romish confederates, who they perceived intended to destroy all Protestants. A great proportion of the Insurgents in the North were Romanists; for in both the counties of Down and Antrim, in which the Northern Insurrection happened, there are many Romish inhabitants. This Insurrection was very speedily quelled. The leaders of the Dissenters concerned in it were all notorious sectaries, —Arians, Socinians, or Deists; there was not one real Christian Dissenter engaged in it, except a very few of the meanest of the people, who were cheated into it in the manner I have already mentioned. All Protestant Dissenters of any account, who were real Christians, joined heart and hand with the Protestants of the Establishment throughout the nation, and fought courageously against the Insurgents.

The great strength of the Rebels lay in the province of Leinster, and they were to a man Romanists, except about six, who were professed Painites. Mr. Bagenal Harvey was one of these. A few days before the Rebellion broke out he had been arrested on a charge of Treason, by order of Government, and was confined in the gaol of Wexford. When the Rebels got possession of that town, soon after the commencement of the Insurrection, they liberated Mr. Harvey; and as he was a man of some estate and interest in the county, they chose him for a nominal leader only, and he marched with them to the attack of Ross. His command was merely nominal: he never had any effectual authority among them. As soon as they were defeated at Ross, they deposed him, and chose a Romish Farmer, one Roach, who had been the permanent Serjeant of a Yeomanry Corps,

Corps, and had deserted, one of their Generals ; together with a number of others, all Romanists, to wit, Sutton, Fitzgerald, Parry, Hay, Roach, and Murphy, the two last Romish Priests, and many other Priests. They first assembled in the county of Wexford, by parishes, at the respective Romish chapels, and were generally headed by their Priests. Mr. Harvey, when he saw them commence the massacre of the Protestants, which he was unable to prevent, spoke feelingly, to a friend he happened to fall in with, of his own situation : ‘ I see now ‘ my folly,’ said he, ‘ in embarking in this cause with ‘ these people : if they succeed, I shall be murdered by ‘ them ; if they are defeated, I shall be hanged.’

The aggregate body of the Leinster Rebels, all Romanists, assembled in the county of Wexford. Their defeats and dispersion I have already stated. Their barbarity was not exceeded by their inhuman forefathers in the massacre of the Protestants in the year 1641. The diocese of Ferns, in which this Rebellion broke out, was remarkable for a very pious, regular, and resident body of Protestant Clergy. The Bishop was almost always resident, and had not for many years absented himself from the diocese for a fortnight in each year, previous to 1798, though his residence was within fifty miles of the city of Dublin. He attended to his episcopal duty, in every branch of it, with the greatest zeal and activity. In this calamitous year of Rebellion, he had, contrary to his usual custom, resided in Dublin about two months, immediately previous to its breaking out ; and was at that time, very fortunately for himself and his family, absent from Ferns ; otherwise he would have certainly fallen a sacrifice to the bigotted fury of the Rebels. They
were

were therefore obliged to content themselves with the plunder and dilapidation of his house, which had been but lately erected, and on which he and his predecessor had expended above ten thousand pounds. They burned his library, and destroyed his furniture. On the first burst of the Insurrection, the Rebels murdered, in the most barbarous manner, all the Protestant Clergymen they could lay their hands on. The Reverend Messrs. Turner, Burrowes, Throke, Pentland, and Heydon, fell sacrifices to their sanguinary bigotry. They in some days after took the Reverend Mr. Owen prisoner: they tortured him, and he was thereby for some time bereft of his reason. His life was spared by some accident, as was that of the Reverend Mr. Francis, who, notwithstanding, was so much reduced by famine (the Rebels having for many days allowed him no subsistence but some potatoes which had been cut into pieces for the purpose of planting), that he died shortly after he was delivered from them. They caused their Priests to baptize two or three other Protestant Clergymen who had fallen into their hands, and their lives were spared on their submitting to have such a ceremony performed upon them; the Rebels esteeming such submission an abjuration of their religion, and an adoption into the Romish Church. The Reverend Mr. Heydon, already mentioned, was a native of the county of Wexford, had spent almost his whole life there, was near eighty years of age, and was as charitable a man, and as much esteemed, as any in the county. The Rebels insisted that he should submit to be baptized, which he declining to do, they immediately pierced him with their pikes, and he fell dead in the presence of his wife: they stripped his body, and it lay exposed in the streets of Enniscorthy for nine days,

days, till it was almost devoured by the swine. Some of the Rebels, less ferocious than the others, buried the body privately at night in the church-yard: the next day others of them dug it up, and flung it into the street. Such was the fate of this ancient Clergyman, as respectable in his profession as any either in Great Britain or Ireland, who seemed to be beloved, and deserved to be so, by all his parishioners, whether Protestants or Romanists. Most of the other Protestant Clergymen in the diocese were lucky enough to escape from these barbarians, some of them in open boats, across the channel into Wales, carrying nothing with them but the clothes on their backs: they all lost their properties, which were seized on as plunder by the Rebels.

Previous to the battle of Ross, the Rebels had collected all the Protestants, men, women, and children, they could lay their hands on, in their march from Wexford to the battle. These they left prisoners in the custody of one of their captains, a farmer, of the name of Murphy, at the house of Mr. King, a Protestant Gentleman (who luckily escaped from their fury), at a place called Scollobogue, some miles distant from Ross. About sixty men were confined in the mansion-house, and the rest, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and eighty-five, in the adjacent barn. On the day of the battle of Ross, the Rebels dispatched a messenger to Murphy, to desire him, in the name of their General, to put all the prisoners to death, as the King's troops were getting the better, and the prisoners would escape. Murphy at first hesitated, and desired a written order to warrant this barbarous execution; but a second message, to the same effect, was shortly after delivered to him

from Murphy, a Romish Priest, and one of the Rebel Commanders, with which latter order the Captain and his gang, consisting of about three hundred, determined to comply. The sixty men were first brought out of the mansion-house, man by man, and all shot, or murdered by the stabs of pikes, in the front of the house, except two, whom Murphy, for some reason or other, spared. The Rebels determined to make shorter work with the people in the barn, the majority of whom were women and children: they surrounded it, piled combustibles about it, and set it on fire. The enclosed victims endeavoured to force the doors: their barbarous executioners kept up an incessant fire of musketry upon them, and killed all who showed their heads. The doors were divided in the middle, so that the upper parts were open whilst the lower parts were closed. The Rebels threw numberless sheaves of straw, all in flames, into the barn at these apertures. One unhappy woman had a child in her arms, which she was suckling: finding death inevitable, she put the child out over the lower part of one of the doors, in hopes that some of these barbarians might have some sparks of humanity yet twinkling in their bosoms, and would save the life of the infant. She was disappointed: the child was immediately transfixed with a spear, and lifted up on the end of it, writhing with torture. This action was loudly applauded by the surrounding Rebels! Their shouts of triumphant exultation rent the air! The whole number enclosed in the barn were either shot dead at the doors, attempting to force their way out, or consumed within it.

In the town of Wexford, the Rebels had seized a number of Protestants, whom they confined in the gaol.

Out

Out of these they daily, during the continuance of the Rebellion, selected a few, and murdered them with great parade in the most public part of the town; generally marching them under strong guards through the streets to the end of the bridge, military music attending, and playing a dead march; charging them with no crime whatsoever, except that they were heretics irreclaimable. At the end of the bridge they were put on their knees, immediately pierced with pikes, and their bodies thrown into the river, which is there deep and broad. But on the day of the decisive battle of Vinegar Hill, distant only eleven miles from Wexford, the Rebels in the town determined to murder all their prisoners; and on that day they conducted eighty-six Protestants from the gaol to the bridge, marching them by sixteen or eighteen at a time, with music playing a dead march, and there murdered them all with their pikes. The Rebel who showed himself most active in this butchery was celebrated by the rest as a *Hero*, who never winced at running a *Heretic through the body*. Such were their expressions! The remaining prisoners, men, women, and children, were doomed to slaughter on the next day; but a party of the King's troops in the morning rushed suddenly into the town: the Rebels, sought their safety in flight, and the lives of upwards of three hundred Protestants were saved. All the facts I have above mentioned of the barbarities committed by the Rebels, are notorious, and have been proved on the oaths of the most respectable witnesses, on the trials of several Rebels, who have been convicted of having been concerned in these massacres. It is in vain for Romish writers to deny them: they dare not attempt it in Ireland, where all people are perfectly acquainted with the above circumstances. This Romish

writer has published his insidious pamphlet in England ; it is calculated for that meridian ; he hoped to impose on the credulity of strangers ; and even there he had not assurance peremptorily to assert that it was not a Romish Rebellion,—he only strongly insinuates that it was not.

The Insurgents in the two counties of Antrim and Down were partly Protestant Dissenters of the lowest class, and partly Romanists. They were few in number, feeble in their operations, and were speedily dispersed. They committed no massacres, because the Romanists among them were obliged to conceal their sanguinary projects from the Protestant Dissenters associated with them, and whom they had drawn into the Rebellion by holding forth to them the scheme of a Democratic Republic, and the subversion of the Church Establishment. These Insurgents in the North, of different religious persuasions, had different views, which they studiously concealed from each other. The Dissenters among them thought they were making tools of the Romanists, to assist in the overthrow of the Establishment in Church and State, and the substitution of a Republic ; believing that they would be able to secure the political power in such a State to themselves, and introduce that species of religious persuasion which, in the days of Cromwell, was distinguished by the name of *Independency*, throughout the nation : their principal leaders were disguised Atheists. The Romanists, on the other hand, thought, and with much more reason, that they were making tools of the Dissenters, by inducing them to assist in the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, and the substitution of a Democratic Republic ; because they knew that such a project could not be carried into execution

execution but by the extirpation of all the Irish Protestants of the Establishment, and a Separation from Great Britain, for ages the favourite pursuits of Irish Romanists; and they saw plainly enough that the whole political power of the nation must fall into their hands, in the event of the success of such projects; because the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland do not amount to one eighth part of the Romanists in number; and in a Democratic Republic, such a small section of the people, bereft of the support of the Protestants of the Establishment, and of Great Britain, could have very little political influence, if they were even suffered to remain in the country, which, from the religious tenets of the Romanists, is highly improbable. The Romanists know also, that the subversion of the Protestant Establishment would of itself be a substitution of a Romish, without further trouble; for, from the religious tenets of the Romish Faith, its votaries are bound to pay their tithes to their respective Parish Priests, without the sanction of any temporal law whatsoever; and hence it is, that all laws enforcing the payment of tithes to Protestant Clergymen by them are accounted impious, and the exaction of such payment a sacrilege; *which tenet of itself will for ever render them irreconcilable enemies to a Protestant Establishment.* Hence their Clergy, by the success of their designs, would be immediately put into possession of all the tithes of the nation. Add to this the immense sums which the Romish Clergy levy on their Laity from Confessions, from Indulgences, from the doctrine of Purgatory, from Dispensations, and other concomitants of their superstition, reprobated by the Protestant doctrines; and it will be easily seen, that it would not be necessary, on the subversion of the Protestant Church Establishment,

to secure, by temporal laws, any particular endowment for the support of the Romish Clergy; and that, even in their present condition, they levy a very ample subsistence on their people.

The horrible cruelties exercised by the great body of the Rebels in Leinster on the Protestants, soon alarmed the few Dissenters, confederates of the Romish Insurgents in the North. They immediately saw into the real design of their new allies; and withdrawing themselves from a conspiracy which, they clearly perceived, would in its success be attended with their own destruction, all projects of Rebellion vanished in the province of Ulster. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partisans: the flame, thus feeble, was easily quenched, never to be re-kindled; and the people have returned to their accustomed industrious pursuits. The great strength of the Rebellion lay in the province of Leinster. The whole mass of the Romish inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, rose at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the same religious persuasion, joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men. Confiding in this strength, they did not think it necessary to conceal their designs of extirpating the Protestants: the excision of all Heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention; and evinced, by their actions, the sincerity of this declaration.

So early as the year 1792, the Irish Romanists had projected this Rebellion, and commenced their operations preparative of it. In that year, a Secret Committee of

them, which had before for some years privately assembled in Dublin, determined to take decisive steps towards combining their whole collected power throughout the nation, and making one united effort to separate the nation from Great Britain, subvert the Monarchy, and establish a Romish Democratic Republic in Ireland, under the protection of France, which encouraged them to the attempt, and whose anarchical schemes they resolved to adopt. The success of the French Revolutionists inspired them with hopes of similar success; and some popular characters in England and Ireland appeared publicly as their abettors, particularly Mr. *Edmund Burke*, who dispatched his son to Ireland to act as their agent, in which capacity he exerted himself with great zeal and activity. They were thus emboldened to adopt very daring and open measures for carrying their project into execution. With this view a Romish merchant in Dublin, one of this private Society, issued a kind of writs for the election of a general Representative Assembly of the Irish Romanists, to meet at a certain day in the city of Dublin, there to deliberate on the interests of that body, and to concert proper methods for what was styled the Emancipation of the Romanists. These writs were directed to the Romish Parish Priests throughout the kingdom, who were to superintend the execution of them. They were executed in the following manner: The Romish inhabitants of each parish were summoned by the Priest to meet at the Romish chapel; and there two deputies were elected by the majority of the votes of the adults of the whole congregation without distinction. These deputies met the deputies of all the parishes of a barony or hundred, at an appointed time and place, and elected, by plurality of votes, two deputies for the barony from
among

among themselves. These two baronial deputies met, at a certain time and place; the other baronial deputies, and elected two deputies from among themselves, as representatives of the county. The same mode of election of representatives was pursued in cities and towns corporate. These representatives met at the Taylors' Hall, in the city of Dublin, appointed proper officers, and continued sitting for many weeks, with the doors of the hall carefully closed and guarded, within a furlong of the Castle of Dublin, the residence of the Viceroy. Their assembling was open and notorious: their deliberations were kept profoundly secret. The Magistracy of the city of Dublin would have immediately dispersed this unlawful assembly, which, in imitation of the French, assumed the title of *the Catholic Convention*; but the Government declined to warrant or countenance such exertion of the Police. This Convention composed a paper, which they styled the Petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to His Majesty, which is one entire system of the most audacious and groundless falsehoods and misrepresentations that was ever framed: it is a virulent and malicious invective and libel on the Protestants of Ireland and the established Government, and a forgery of grievances of Irish Romanists which never existed. They at length closed their session, first electing nine of their members to compose a permanent Council of Irish Traitors. This they styled the Permanent Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Of these M'Nevin, their Ambassador to the French Directory, was the chief. They levied great sums of money by a regular assessment, which they imposed on the Irish Romanists, and to which they universally submitted. They sent a deputation to Belfast, to seduce the

Protestant Dissenters there to enter into a confederacy with them, for the annihilation of the Constitution, under pretence of a co-operation for a Reform of the Representation in Parliament; and to the operations of that Deputation is the late feeble Northern Insurrection, which I have mentioned, to be ascribed. They appointed deputies to present the flagitious libel, which they styled a Petition to His Majesty; and so great was the influence of Mr. Burke in England at that time, that he procured the introduction of these Deputies to His Majesty, by one of the Secretaries of State; and they presented their Petition. To the same influence is justly to be attributed the passive conduct of the Irish Government, in respect to that unlawful assembly. The whole mass of the Irish Romanists submitted to the authority of this Committee of Nine. They were selected out of the Representatives chosen by them all in the manner I have mentioned, and appointed by the votes of that whole body to conduct the projects and schemes of the Irish Romanists; they are therefore to be considered as their existing Representatives, and they have acted as such ever since, till the breaking out of the Rebellion. One of them, M'Nevin, was the most active diplomatic member of the Irish Directory.

In the year 1795, when Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Committee of Nine determined that the whole mass of Irish Romanists should present a Petition to Parliament, praying, or rather demanding, what they styled Emancipation; that is, the subversion of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State. They published a precedent of such a Petition in the public Newspapers, and sent out their
mandate

mandate to all of their persuasion in every part of Ireland, commanding them to send up Petitions, drawn after that model, to be presented to Parliament, signed by them in every district. This mandate was immediately complied with by the whole body. The assessments of the Convention have been always regularly paid to the Treasurer, one of the Nine; and the Romish body throughout Ireland regularly corresponded with their Secretary M'Cormick, till he fled out of the kingdom, to escape punishment for his treason, some time after the commencement of the Rebellion. The Committee of Nine called a general meeting of the Irish Romanists on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. They met at a Romish chapel in Dublin. Several seditious speeches were spoken at this assembly by M'Nevin, Keough, and Ryan, three members of the Committee of Nine; and by Lewins, their present Ambassador at Paris; and very seditious resolutions were entered into by them, and the whole assembly. All these Speeches and Resolutions the Committee published in several Newspapers both in Great Britain and Ireland. In one of the Resolutions agreed to by the whole body, they voted their most grateful thanks for his services, and fifteen hundred pounds for his trouble, to Theobald Wolfe Tone, as one of their agents. He was at this time a traitor, in correspondence with the French Convention, and employed by them to raise a Rebellion in Ireland. He was since taken by Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron, coming to invade Ireland with a French army, and having a French commission in his pocket. He was convicted of high treason, and ordered for execution; but on the morning of the day appointed for his execution he cut his own throat. His brother, Matthew Tone, was

hanged and quartered for the same crime. *In another Resolution, the Committee of Nine and their Assembly pledged themselves, collectively and individually, to resist even their Emancipation, if proposed to be conceded on the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an Union with Great Britain.*

Of this Committee of Nine, M^cNevin and Sweetman are now confined, as professed traitors, at Fort George in Scotland; Ryan is dead; Keough and M^cCormick have found it prudent to withdraw out of the kingdom; another was long confined on suspicion of treason, but has been lately liberated by the clemency of the Marquis Cornwallis. It is however generally believed that their places have been duly filled up, and that a Committee of Nine, as the Representative of the whole mass of Irish Romanists, still subsists, maintains its authority over that body, and continues its operations.

From the detail of the Rise and Progress of the late Rebellion, here faithfully given, it must be clear to every dispassionate person, that it was a Romish Rebellion, and that it was hatched by the Romish Convention. But it may not be amiss here to insert some quotations from the Reports of the Secret Committees of the British and Irish Houses of Lords respecting it. In the 'Report of the Committee of the Irish House of Lords' (page 2) is the following paragraph: 'During that period' (1792 and 1793) 'very considerable sums of money were levied upon the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, under the authority of a Committee of persons of that persuasion, who then assumed, and seemed in a great degree to succeed in the government and direction of
' the

‘ the whole body of Irish Catholics.’ Ibidem, page 4.
 ‘ We have taken up the detail of it from that period’
 (1795 and 1796), ‘ when the conspiracy was *so matured*
 ‘ as to have for its avowed object the array and levy of
 ‘ a regular military force in every part of the kingdom,
 ‘ for the purpose of assisting the French, if they should
 ‘ be enabled to make a descent upon this country ; or, if
 ‘ foreign assistance could not be procured, of making a
 ‘ general insurrection, in the hope of subverting the
 ‘ Monarchy and Ecclesiastical Establishment, of seizing
 ‘ the persons and confiscating the property of His Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s loyal subjects, and of establishing a Republi-
 ‘ can Government guaranteed by the power of France.’
 And ibidem, pages 10, 11, 12, may be seen an account
 of the negotiations of M^cNevin, one of the Committee
 of Nine, with the French Directory, to which I refer
 the reader.

In the ‘ Report of the Secret Committee of the House
 ‘ of Commons of Great Britain,’ sect. 2, page 10, is the
 following passage: ‘ The conspirators in Ireland, unques-
 ‘ tionably, always meditated the complete separation of
 ‘ that country from Great Britain.’ The Report then
 adverts to *the Society of United Irishmen*, which it states to
 have been instituted in the year 1791. And here it is
 proper to state, that the Romish Convention already
 mentioned was assembled in the year 1792, and that
 almost the whole of its members, if not the whole, were
United Irishmen: that all the principal Romish leaders in
 the late Rebellion were members of this Convention ;
 and all of them, together with the whole mass of the
 Insurgents, *United Irishmen*. In the Report last men-
 tioned, sect. 7, page 31, adverting to the mutiny in the

British fleet, is the following passage: ‘ It appears that
 ‘ oaths have been tendered by the Mutineers to the crew
 ‘ to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ire-
 ‘ land, and have nothing to do with the King or his
 ‘ Government; that they have acted in the professed
 ‘ expectation of assistance from France, with the express
 ‘ view of co-operating for the expulsion of the Protest-
 ‘ ants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Ca-
 ‘ tholic Government. On another occasion the Oath has
 ‘ been as follows: “ I swear to be true to the free and
 ‘ united Irish, who are now fighting our cause against
 ‘ Tyrants and Oppressors, and to defend their rights to
 ‘ the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret: and
 ‘ I do agree to carry the ship into Brest, the next time
 ‘ the ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every offi-
 ‘ cer and man that shall hinder us, except the Master;
 ‘ and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, *and after-*
 ‘ *wards to kill and destroy the Protestants.*” Ibid. page 32.
 ‘ Your Committee have no hesitation in stating on the
 ‘ clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circum-
 ‘ stances, that among the various bodies enlisted in any part
 ‘ of Great Britain for the purposes of sedition and trea-
 ‘ son, the societies which have been formed by the
 ‘ United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the
 ‘ most formidable, particularly at the present moment;
 ‘ whether considered with a view to their combination,
 ‘ their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the
 ‘ designs, of which they are preparing, in a very short
 ‘ time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation
 ‘ with France. The danger to be apprehended from
 ‘ these Societies is much increased, from the constant
 ‘ communication which they maintain with the Societies
 ‘ in Ireland, their mutual confidence in each other, and

‘ the alarming circumstance of their being at *this moment* subject to the same secret direction, and the same chiefs.’

This ‘ Report of the British House of Commons’ was ordered to be printed so late as the 15th of March 1799. And it is here worthy to be noted, that Mr. Tone, already mentioned, who is acknowledged to have been Agent of the Romish Convention in the year 1792, by their Permanent Committee, was the founder of the Society of United Irishmen in the year 1791; and it is pretty evident that the Romish Convention was only an assembly of the most considerable amongst the personages which composed the Society of United Irishmen;—a species of florilegium of that holy brotherhood!

It is now time to inquire what it is which induces Irish Romanists to act so ferociously, and to thirst so insatiably for the blood of their Protestant fellow-subjects; a thirst at this moment as unquenchable as in the year 1641, the era of the horrible Irish massacre! It cannot arise from the hatred of the native Irish to the British Colony, contracted from the tyranny of the Colony exercised over the natives, as is with equal effrontery and falsehood asserted by the author of the pamphlet entitled, ‘ *Considerations on the State of public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland;*’ for at present, and for many years back, the native Irish, and the British, who from time to time migrated into Ireland and settled there, are so intermixed that no such distinction as Native and Colonist can properly be said now to remain in the kingdom; save that in some mountainous parts of the province of Connaught, and in the mountains in the south of the counties

counties of Cork and Kerry, such fusion has not taken place in any considerable degree; and in those parts there was no Rebellion. In the counties in which the Rebellion raged, to wit, those of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Dublin, the majority of the peasantry, if their original race is to be discovered by their names, is British. There are two baronies in the county of Wexford, *viz.* those of Forth and Bargy, entirely peopled by the descendants of old English settlers, who yet retain the old English language, as it was spoken in England in the time of Chaucer, and which is almost unintelligible to a modern Englishman. They are for the most part Romanists at this day, and were very active Rebels. The English who settled in other parts of Ireland, previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, are so completely incorporated with the original natives, that they cannot now be distinguished from them by their language, customs, or manners; the surnames of the respective families of them alone mark their origin. They may be reputed natives; and there are few who retain Irish surnames through the nation, who have not British blood in their veins. The Romish inhabitants of Ireland called by British surnames, and generally reputed of British extraction, are the most powerful portion of Irish Romanists in point of property. In the late Rebellion, almost all the leaders of the Rebels had English surnames, and the mass of the Insurgents was of the same description; the Rebellion having raged in the parts of Ireland directly opposite to Britain, and chiefly in that part formerly called the Pale, the principal seat of the ancient English Colony. Of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, a large portion has Irish surnames, and may be therefore reputed of native
Irish

Irish extraction. In a word, the only real and specific distinction of the inhabitants of Ireland in the present time is, that of Protestants and Romanists. The sanguinary hostility of the Irish Romanists against the Irish Protestants cannot therefore be attributed to a national antipathy subsisting between Natives and Colonists ; and there is as little ground for ascribing it to any peculiar propensity of the people of Ireland to cruelty, greater than that of other nations. Oppression they cannot reasonably complain of ; for the Irish Romanists enjoy a greater portion of civil liberty, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign nation on the face of the earth. There is therefore no other reasonable mode of accounting for it, but by an examination of the doctrines of their Religion : and whoever will attentively consider the precepts of the Council of Lateran before quoted, respecting Heresy, which they hold as a part of their creed, will there find the true sources of all those barbarities, and massacres of their fellow-subjects, which they have been guilty of. The legal punishment of Heresy in the British dominions, during the domination of Popery, was burning alive : hence the burning alive of the unfortunate Protestants in the barn at Scollobogue, and the persecution of them with fire and sword in the late Rebellion. The Irish Romanists committed nothing which they were not warranted, nay commanded, to commit, by the Council of Lateran ; and it is remarkable, that at the times of their perpetrating the most atrocious cruelties, they always branded their victims with the opprobrious title of Heretics.

The Romanists in Ireland, whether aboriginal, or of old English extraction, have always endeavoured to
shake

shake off what they call the English yoke, that is, to separate themselves from England ; and this political principle has contributed more than any other circumstance to keep them steady to the Romish persuasion, as being hostile to the Protestant faith, the Religion of Britain : their leaders justly enough considering that hostility of Religions is a powerful cement of adverse political parties, and a strong barrier against all treaty ; and that Separation from Britain will be always the favourite pursuit of men who firmly believe that Britons are an accursed race, reprobated by Heaven, the objects of Divine vengeance, to be inflicted on them on earth by the swords of the faithful ; they therefore support and propagate the Romish Faith, as they have always done, with all their power and influence. And to this political principle of Separation from Britain, as a first cause, may be traced the persevering attachment of such a number of the inhabitants of Ireland to the Romish Faith : and of that attachment their cruelty to their Protestant countrymen is the immediate effect.

I shall now take some notice of the strictures thrown out, by the Author of '*The Case of Ireland Re-considered*,' on the Popery Code some time since repealed in Ireland. The Author has summed up all the old common-place objections to that Code, advanced by the whole swarm of Romish scribblers, with all their exaggerations, since the enactment of it. His objections I have already mentioned ; they are principally contained in pages 4 and 34 of his pamphlet. Notwithstanding this Code has been for some years repealed, particularly all such parts of it as he complains of, he again blazons forth its severity, for the purpose of giving a new edge to the weapons

weapons of his Romish countrymen (which he apprehends may have been somewhat blunted in the recent Rebellion and Massacre), and of misleading the English nation into an unfounded opinion, that the Irish Romanists have been cruelly oppressed; and that their recent Rebellion has been the effect of that oppression, not resorted to for remedy (the Code having been repealed before the Rebellion), but for revenge. It is necessary to make a few remarks on his strictures, to show how absurd they are, and what little ground there is for them: so very little indeed, that there is sufficient reason to believe the writer to have been wholly unacquainted with the laws themselves, and that he merely copied the observations he makes upon them from others. His ignorance of the laws of his country is manifest from more than one passage in his pamphlet. I shall give one remarkable instance here of his want of knowledge of the laws. In page 41, observing on what he calls the Test Oaths, meaning the Oaths administered to every Member of Parliament when he takes his seat in the House, he has the following passage: ‘ Among these
‘ Oaths I suppose is included that of Abjuration, which
‘ is as violent an insult to the religion of our allies,
‘ the first nations on the Continent of Europe, as the
‘ abominable Oath of Hatred to Royalty set up as a
‘ test in France, is to their form of government.’ The Oath of Supremacy I have already mentioned: the Oath, styled in our Statutes the Oath of Abjuration, is simply an oath, first, of Allegiance to His Majesty; next, of support of the Settlement of the Crown, as limited by an Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*; and next an Oath
abjuring

abjuring all allegiance to the descendants of the late King James the Second. This Oath, together with the Oaths of Supremacy, and a general Oath of Allegiance, are all the oaths enjoined to be taken by Members of Parliament. How contemptible then is the ignorance of this Author, who states, that this Oath of Abjuration is a violent insult to the religion of our allies, the first nations in Europe !

The Irish Popery Code, which this Author complains of, was enacted after the accession of King William and Queen Mary : not all at once, but from time to time, as seemed expedient, in several successive Sessions of the Irish Parliaments, from the 4th of William and Mary to the 8th of Anne inclusive, but chiefly in the 2d and 8th of Anne. By this Code Romanists were prohibited to teach school, and to take leases of lands for a longer term than thirty-one years, or to acquire by purchase any more durable interest in lands. It provided, that if the eldest son of a Romanist, having an estate in fee, conformed to the Protestant Religion, his father, from the time of his conformity, became tenant for life of his estate, the fee vested in the conforming son, subject to the debts and incumbrances, and the Lord Chancellor was empowered to charge the estate with fortunes for the younger children, not exceeding in the whole one third of the full value of it. When a Romanist died seised of an estate in fee, if his eldest son did not conform to the Protestant Religion within a year and a day after his father's death (if he was then of full age, or, if then a minor, within a year and a day after he had attained his full age), the estate gavelled between him and his brothers. No Romanist could enjoy an office

fice in the State, a commission in the Army, or a seat in Parliament, without taking the Test Oaths. These are the parts of the Popery Code, whose dire effects on the Irish Romanists this Author so pathetically laments, and magnifies with such monstrous exaggeration. It is necessary here to remark, that these laws were all enacted from absolute necessity: that the reiterated rebellions, treasons, and massacres of the Irish Romanists were the causes of their enactment: that they were enacted after the Irish Romanists had been completely subdued in a desperate war, waged by them against their Protestant countrymen and the English nation, and undertaken by them, under the pretence of supporting the title of an abdicated Monarch to the Crown; but really for the purpose of separating Ireland from Great Britain, and allying it with France: that in this war the nation was desolated from one extremity to the other, as it had been frequently before in similar precedent rebellions: that it became evidently detrimental to the State, to permit Irish Romanists to acquire landed estates, giving them an interest in the country, which their avowed principles inevitably led them to use for the subversion of the State: that the incurable disposition of the Irish Romanists to rebellion and massacre was not the effect, but the cause, of the Popery Code; for that disposition led them to the most flagrant, cruel, and reiterated acts of rebellion and massacre, before the enactment of that Code; and all other ways of preventing the repetition of such horrible crimes had been found ineffectual: that this Author is guilty of the basest deception, in stating the Popery Code to be the cause of Rebellions, when it was only the effect: that the parts of that Code, of which he complains, as provocations of Irish Romanists

to Rebellion, were repealed, before the last Irish rebellion and massacre; and consequently could not be the cause of them: and it is no unfair deduction, that the re-enactment of a Code, which, while it continued to be a part of the law of the land, prevented Rebellion, may become necessary for the protection of the country from similar future calamities.

This Author states, that, by the repealed Popery Code, *Romanists were excluded from Protestant Schools*. This is a direct falsehood: Romanists, so far from being excluded from Protestant schools, were invited to them; every Protestant school in the kingdom was always open to them; they might have freely resorted thither for instruction in all kinds of learning, without any interference of the schoolmasters with their religious opinions. Schools were established by Government, above half a century ago, for the education of the children of the poorer class of Irish Romanists, who had the privilege of sending their children to these schools, if they thought fit, to be educated and maintained *gratis*: these schools are called *Charter Schools*, and the scholars are educated in the Protestant Religion, as it is but reasonable that children educated at the expense of the State, should be instructed in the Religion of the State. But all other schools were as open to Romanists as to Protestants, without any reference to, or interference with, the religious opinions of Romanists. The State has lately, but before this Author published his pamphlet, thought fit to erect a most magnificent College, at an amazing expense, near Dublin, for the exclusive education of Romanish Priests, whether wisely or not, I will not presume

sume to determine. I shall have occasion hereafter more fully to notice this foundation.

Romish students could not obtain degrees in the University of Dublin without taking the Oaths of Abjuration and Supremacy, previous to the repeal of the Popery Code: but by the act of the Irish Parliament in 1793 in favour of Romanists, they are rendered capable of taking degrees in that University.

Romish schoolmasters were by the Popery Code prohibited to teach. No prohibition, at the time it was enacted, could be more reasonable: they inculcated the rudiments of sedition and treason with the utmost care in their scholars; and when proper schools were open for the instruction of Romanists, it was a wise and just provision of the State to prevent their resort to places where they were early initiated in all the principles of disaffection to the Government. It appeared in the last Rebellion, that the Romish schoolmasters were the most zealous, active, and busy propagators of all the doctrines of treason in the country. The propriety of the education of Irish Romanists in France and Spain, after their various rebellions in confederacy with these powers, needs no argument to support it.

This Author's next complaint against the Popery Code is, 'that it cramped the industry of the people, and armed the brother against the brother, and rewarded the son for betraying the father, rendered property insecure, prevented the cultivation of land, the interior confidence of families, and the extension of trade.'

Romanists by that Code were forbidden to take a lease of land for a longer term than thirty-one years. Against that clause it is to be supposed that the accusation of cramping the industry of the people is levelled. It is admitted that a larger proportion of Romanists is to be found among the Irish peasantry, than among the other classes of inhabitants; and it is to be noted that this author, by the word People, means Romanists exclusively; for throughout his pamphlet, like other writers of his kidney, he insinuates that the Irish Protestants are so insignificant in number, that they are not worthy of being noticed as a part of the people. It is difficult to prove, though easy to assert, that a class of the farmers of a nation, the cultivators of the soil, are cramped in their industry, and their cultivation obstructed, by their disability to acquire more durable interests in their farms, than leases for thirty-one years give them; and that such disability in one class of farmers cramps the industry of the whole body. The farmers in many parts of England, the most skilful in their profession of any in the world, the most industrious and thriving, have no leases of their farms, but are yearly tenants: in most parts of England long leases of farms are unusual, in some parts unknown: a seven years lease of a farm is considered a sufficient tenure, yet the farmers are remarkable for their excellent cultivation of the land, and the most active industry. It is therefore proved by experience, that disability in farmers to acquire long tenures of their farms is no impediment to national industry. The law in particular complained of, never operated against the industry of the Romish farmers, but it operated against the acquisition of permanent landed estates by such Irish Romanists as had acquired large personal property, because all laws
 against

against such acquisition may be easily evaded by long leases. Such was the intention of the Legislature, and it acted wisely, and for the benefit and security of the State (as is already shown), in enacting the clause complained of : Romanists were not restrained from exerting their industry, and acquiring large personal estates ; but they were prohibited to expend their money in the purchase of lands, because the safety of the State required such prohibition : and industry may be, and is exerted as strenuously in the acquisition of personal, as of real property ; of which the British nation is a shining example. The sophistry of the assertion, that the industry of a whole nation was cramped, because a prohibition of the acquisition of permanent landed estates by a part, and that the poorest part of it, existed, even admitting a cramping quality in the prohibition, is too glaring and contemptible to require further notice.

The next accusation of this Author against the Popery Code is, *that it rewarded the son for betraying the father, and armed the brother against the brother.* The part of the Code against which this accusation is levelled, is that which enacts, that the conformity to the Protestant Religion of the eldest son of a Romanist, seized in fee of a landed estate, shall render his father tenant for life, and vest the remainder in fee in the son, subject however to the payment of real incumbrances, the just debts of the father, and of reasonable portions to the younger children, at the discretion of the Chancellor : and the father was compellable to make some reasonable allowance for the support of the conforming child. And also that part of the Code which enacted, that the landed estate of a Romanist should be gavelable among all his

sons, in case the eldest did not conform to the Protestant Religion within a year and a day after the death of his father, if then of the age of twenty-one years ; or if not, within a year and a day after he had attained that age.

As to the first clause, it is conformable to the rules of justice, of right reason, and of nature. The father is bound by the law of nature to support and provide for his children, and by the common law of the land, the eldest son is entitled to succeed his father in his landed estate, in case the father makes no disposition of it in his lifetime, by conveyance or will. It is notorious that every Romish father would, on the conformity of his eldest son to the Protestant Religion (which he would consider as apostacy), not only withdraw all support from him during his own life, but disinherit him : the fear of which would be an effectual bar to his conformity, be he ever so well inclined to it. This Code, therefore, in case of the son's conformity, required the father to do no more than what the law of nature and the common law of the land required him to do ; and restrained him only from transgressing both, from the impulse of a blind bigotry. The payment of his just debts, and the provision of his other children, were secured, with the enjoyment of his estate during his life. How unjust then is the censure of this author on this clause of the Popery Code, that it rewarded the son for betraying the father !

In respect to the gavelling clause, on the non-conformity of the eldest son, it is to be observed, that the division of the landed estates of a deceased father among his sons in equal portions, is so far from being counted a

hardship in many nations of Europe, that it is the law in many of them at this day. It is now the common law of the county of Kent: it was the law of our Saxon ancestors. The laws of male Primogeniture, as they are at this day, in respect to the descent of real estates, were introduced by the feudal system imported with William the Conqueror. The men of Kent insisted on retention of their old gavel law, and he conceded it to them. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. ii. page 84. vol. iv. page 406, octavo edition.) The law of descent of landed estates to the eldest, in exclusion of the other children, does not take place in respect to daughters; such estates descend to daughters in gavelkind. Many writers on civil polity, of great eminence, maintain the opinion, that the law of Gavelkind is more advantageous to the State, than that of Primogeniture: and it is agreed by all, that the accumulation of great landed estates in one family, to be inherited by one person, an effect of the law of Primogeniture, is dangerous in a State, whether monarchical, republican, or mixt. It became necessary, for the reason I have already mentioned, to diminish the interest of Irish Romanists, derived from their enjoyment of large landed estates; and this law was designed to effect that purpose, with the least possible disadvantage to individuals, and without having recourse to any measure, which could be deemed by reasonable men either harsh or unjust; it was wisely calculated to answer all these ends. If therefore it has the effect of arming brother against brother among Irish Romanists, it must be admitted that they are very prone to family hostility; and to such propensity, and not to the law, is such hostility to be attributed: for the law is in itself fair and equal, and its justice vouched for

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by the usage of several European nations, and a part of our own.

The next complaint of this Author against the Popery Code is, *that it rendered property insecure*. What part of it is alluded to, as rendering property insecure, it is hard to guess: perhaps it is that part of the Code, which enacts, that if a Romanist shall acquire by purchase an estate in lands, contrary to its prohibitions, such estate shall become forfeitable to the first Protestant, who shall discover it, and file a bill for the recovery of it. Laws which, by the wisdom of their provisions, tend to ensure the execution of them, are justly esteemed the most effectual, for the correction of those evils which they are enacted to repress: of such nature was this clause of the Popery Code. The State, for the reasons already mentioned, deemed it expedient to prohibit the acquisition of landed estates by Romanists; if therefore Romanists attempted to elude or defeat the effect of these laws, and expended their money in the purchase of landed estates, knowing the prohibition and the penalty, they had no ground to complain that their property was insecure, because such estates became forfeited to the first Protestant discoverer: the forfeiture was the consequence of their own transgressions of the law, and their attempts to evade it: the landed estates so purchased by them never were their lawful property; and if they risked their property on such unlawful speculations, they themselves, and not the law, were the cause of its insecurity.

This Author next states, *that the Popery Code prevented the extension of trade, and employment of the talents and genius of three fourths of the people in civil and military affairs*. This

Code must have rather tended to extend trade, than to confine it: because it prevented whatever Romish capital there was in the kingdom from being diverted to the purchase of lands, and being thereby withdrawn from trade. And as to the talents and genius of two thirds, and not of three fourths of the people of Ireland (the most indigent and uninformed class of society), being excluded from all interference with the civil or military concerns of the British Empire,—the brave, enlightened Protestant subjects of that empire, out-numbering them in the proportion of six to one, wanted no assistance from them. These two thirds of the Irish population, and their ancestors, had for ages exerted their talents, civil and military, such as they were, for the subversion of the Protestant establishment in Church and State; and it was sound policy to reject all hollow alliance of talent of such Subjects, for the conduct of the national energies either in peace or war. The British Empire was, and is supported, *non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis!*

All this Author's complaints against the Irish Popery Code, and his monstrous exaggerations and falsehoods respecting its provisions and effects, have been now fully canvassed and exposed. And as this Code, in all the parts complained of, and acrimoniously misrepresented by him, with the view of inflaming the Irish Romanists to another Rebellion, is now repealed, his performance would not have been so much noticed, had not several pamphlets published in England as the substance of Speeches respecting the Union, spoken in the British Houses of Lords and Commons, by the most powerful Noblemen and Commoners in England, contained passages expressive of the opinions of the speakers, that Irish

Romanists have been cruelly oppressed by their Protestant fellow-subjects, without any just reason to warrant such supposed oppressions : and that the numbers and strength of Irish Romanists were so great, when compared with those of Irish Protestants, that it is necessary to purchase their consent to an Union, at the price of the sacrifice of the Protestant establishment in Ireland. As I have taken up my pen, chiefly for the purpose of disabusing such Noblemen and Gentlemen, and giving them true information of the real state of Ireland, with which some of them of the greatest rank seem not only unacquainted, but, what is worse, seem to have very false impressions made upon them to the disadvantage of the Irish Protestants, I thought I could not omit refuting the shameless slanders of this writer, on the laws and government of Ireland for this century past. Such refutation is also conformable to my general plan, which is to expose, confute, and overthrow the system of Burkism respecting Ireland ; which, as these Speeches too evidently prove, has made no inconsiderable progress among the Ministers of the British Empire ; and which has its foundation deeply laid in bigotry, misrepresentation, falsehood, and deceit : to the operations of which system in Ireland, directed by the Ministers sent thither from England, from time to time, for these twenty years past, are justly to be attributed the calamities which have so lately afflicted it ; and the dissent of a considerable body of Irish Protestants, from an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, from a suspicion (ill-founded, as I hope and believe, yet not altogether groundless), that some dangerous invasion of the Constitution of the Empire is, at least, meditated, under the shadow and protection of that most salutary measure.

I shall

I shall take my leave of this Author, by a short comment on the following paragraph contained in page 16 of his pamphlet : ‘ In Ireland, the Religion of the *people* is not permitted to be the Religion of the country : it is *scarcely tolerated* : the Religion of a *small minority* (a political phenomenon) is the established Religion of the State.’ This Author has a rare talent at condensing a variety of falsehoods into one short passage. *Popery enjoys the most complete toleration.* The Religion of one third of the inhabitants of Ireland in number, of forty to one in property, is the established Religion of the State, in Ireland ; it is also the Religion of six to one in number, and of one hundred to one in property, of the population of the British Empire in Europe, of which Ireland is a limb : *it is therefore the Religion of an infinite majority of the inhabitants of the Empire reckoned both by numbers and property.* I have quoted this last passage, just to show the audacity of the writer, and the ease and confidence with which he advances the most impudent falsehoods, and supports them with the most pitiful sophistry.

It has been alledged, that Ireland has manifestly improved in trade and cultivation since the repeal of the Popery Code, and that such improvement is the effect of that repeal. The improvement of Ireland from the year 1780 to the breaking out of the late Rebellion is admitted ; but it is not to be attributed to the repeal of the Popery Code, but to the free trade about that time conceded to Ireland by Great Britain, and the abolition of those commercial regulations, with which she had before that period shackled Ireland ; and part of the improvement is to be laid to the account of the ruin of the trade of France and Holland,
and

and the rapid increase of that of the British Empire in general, within that period.

Strictures
on a pam-
phlet enti-
tled, 'Con-
siderations
on the State
of Public
Affairs in
the Year
1799. Ire-
land.'

I fear I have wasted too much paper and ink in exposing this Writer, his falsehoods, misrepresentations, ignorance, and sophistry ; but I have already given my reason for so doing, and the same reason is my excuse to the public for taking notice of the pamphlet entitled, '*Considerations upon the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799. Ireland.*' After reading this publication, it appeared to me so very false, abusive, absurd, and contemptible, that I at first thought it degrading to any reasonable person, to suffer it to occupy any part of his attention : my feeling was pretty much the same with that of Quin the player, when a celebrated actress once gave him a pluck by the wig in the Green-room : 'Madam,' said he, turning to her, 'I would spit in your face, only that would be taking notice of you.' However, on further reflection, and on finding by the Speeches already mentioned, that Burkism had made a great progress among British Statesmen, I began to perceive, that lies, the most monstrous that ever were invented respecting the State and Government of Ireland, and its Protestant inhabitants, had gained credit in England, with men who had power to do infinite mischief if they were not undeceived. I therefore thought it prudent to waste a little more paper and ink, even on this infamous, malevolent, anonymous slanderer. But my Strictures on his libel shall be very short, because, in my Observations on the preceding Author, the reader will find all the positions of the Author of '*Considerations, &c.*' fully refuted.

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This Writer introduces himself to the public under the mask of a violent partisan of the measure of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland : but he wears a very thin mask ; for through it may be very distinctly seen the envenomed, enthusiastic Irish friar, just discharged on the nation from the mortar of a Spanish monastery : all the acrimony, all the falsehood, all the ignorance, all the bigotry, all the fury, in short, all the combustibles of so noisome a composition ! He pursues the following line of attack, supported by explosions of bombs, carcasses, and stink-pots, on the Protestants of Ireland.

He gives the titles of English Colonists, Planters, and Settlers, to the Irish Protestants ; and that of Natives to the Irish Romanists ; and throughout asserts, that the Protestants are a British colony, and a handful only when compared with the natives. He states, ‘ that the Irish Parliament is only the representative of this handful of colonists, and not the representative of the natives, or of any part of them ;’ and styles it throughout, in derision, ‘ the *Parliament of Dublin*.’ He states, that ‘ there are in this Parliament of Dublin (meaning the House of Commons) one hundred and sixteen placemen, out of three hundred of which it consists ; and that all its proceedings are the effects of fear and corruption : *that it is elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen, to the exclusion of the ancient occupants of the soil.*’ (See page 41.) He calls all Irish Protestants ‘ the Grantees of Cromwell and William the Third, the children of their soldiers, and the heirs of their rapacity.’ He accuses these two personages, whom he insolently ranks together, ‘ with the greatest violence and excesses, and with the actions of the most grievous confiscations and forfeitures
‘ from

' from the natives.' (See page 24.) He states the Protestants of Ireland to be ' the most wretched, ill-governed, and dependent colony on the face of the globe.' (See page 14.) He describes the Government of Ireland ' as a perpetual military government, the Irish Protestants, as having a trembling dependance upon the Crown of England for a daily and precarious existence.' (See page 5.) He thus paints the situation and sentiment of the Irish Protestants and Romanists with respect to each other, when observing on the effects of the British Act of renunciation of the power of legislating for Ireland in the year 1782: ' They (the Romanists) knew ' that the representatives of a Protestant colony would ' not, and could not *dare* to trust the *immense* majority of ' their nation with an equality of political rights and condition; they saw that what they looked for, from the power ' and magnanimity of Britain, became hopeless from the ' hands of *settlers*, whose *weakness* made them *jealous* and ' *afraid*. They were too conscious of their own *strength*, ' too fond of their *title*, to desire or expect that they ' should be ever trusted by an *usurper* (the Protestant Government), whose *force* they *despised*, and whose *right* ' they *disputed*: they felt themselves abandoned and ' turned over to the generosity of a handful of proprietors, ' who were too *powerless* and too *timid* to be merciful: ' and if the independent Parliament had been *compelled* to ' make the concession, they would have been too sensible of the cause from which it sprung, would have ' called it *fear*, and not *liberality*, and they would have ' seized the proffered boon, not as satisfaction and content, but as a *step in the ladder of their ambition*, and an ' *advanced post in the march of revenge*.' (See pages 51, 52.)

In the very middle of this torrent of abuse on the Protestants and Parliament of Ireland, and panegyric on the Romanists; this display of the usurpation, weakness, and timidity of the Protestants; and of the strength and magnanimity of the Romanists, and justice of their claims of power, dominion, and exclusive possession of the kingdom, is to be met the following curious sentence, which I insert as a specimen of the Author's modesty and consistency:

'I draw a veil over every thing that can disgust or inflame.'

He then proceeds thus further to draw his veil: *'Though I have heard the offer of Union condemned, and the salvation of a few asserted to depend upon the extirpation of the majority; that the Catholics must be extinguished, and put out; that not a single Rohilla of them all can be left with impunity; though I have heard such sanguinary doctrines pollute the walls of a House of Parliament.'* (See pages 63, 64.)

This Author then takes care to distinguish the United Irishmen, whose barbarities were too notorious to be denied, or openly palliated, from the Irish Romanists; and to lay to the charge of the United Irishmen, as distinct from the Romanists, the guilt of the late Rebellion; but even here he cannot forbear falling furiously on the Protestants of Ireland for their resistance to this Rebellion, and their audacity in presuming to defend their lives and properties from the Romish Rebels, and in attempting to punish them for the crimes they had committed. The late *Massacre and Rebellion*, with all due tenderness for the Romish insurgents, he calls a *Civil War*. 'I confess,' says he, 'I fear there are among our settlers in Ireland some unrelenting minds, who expect and prefer another conclusion of the contest, and very different from ours; the horrible principle which has been disclosed even in Eng-

land

* *land* (alluding to the Rohilla principle) induces me very
 * strongly to apprehend, that there is no obstacle in a part
 * of the Colony more hostile and formidable to the pro-
 * jected Union, than the hope to be enabled, by the arms
 * and treasure of the mother-country, to obtain such de-
 * cided and definitive success in the *Civil War*, as to en-
 * able their independent Parliament to attain and confis-
 * cate the remaining part of the property of Ireland, not
 * actually in the occupation of that Colony.' Then, after
 expressing his hope, that His Majesty will never give the
 Royal assent to bills for the attainder of the Irish Rebels,
 or confiscation of their property, and consequently that, if
 vanquished, they will escape all punishment; he proceeds
 thus further to cover with his *veil*, every thing that can
 disgust Irish Protestants, or inflame Irish Romanists: ' If
 * the only obstacle to Union in the bosom of our Colony,
 * is this criminal and flagitious hope, of deriving from our
 * victories an unjust and miserable success of slavery and
 * plunder; I am fearful that it is impossible to assign,
 * after every allowance for passion and for prejudice, a
 * better or more pardonable plea, for the refusal or the
 * silence of the Catholic. *Revenge* and the hope of prey
 * are his undisguised motives, and he is only so far *less* ab-
 * surd, or *less* guilty than the colonist I have described, as
 * he believes himself to have a right, according to the doctrines
 * of *Imprescriptibility*, to possess the lands which no time, no
 * length of possession can alienate, no acquiescence transfer.'
 (See pages from 65 to 69.)

Under pretence of condemning the infidelity of the
 French Republicans, he introduces a panegyric on the
 Irish Romish Bishops; describing them, as men of learn-
 ing,

ing, humanity, and piety (page 71): and under pretence of reconciling Irish Romanists to the measure of an Union, he takes an occasion of passing the highest encomiums on the whole party; not forgetting, by way of praising their patience and forbearance, to state, 'that they have been
' most grievously oppressed by the Colony; that their appetite for revenge, and their exertions in the pursuit of it
' (that is, their Rebellions), were justifiable;' but then he meekly exhorts them to sacrifice their *revenge*, 'because it
' is almost satiated in seas of *Civil blood*: that a great change
' is propounded to them, and they are called to the rights
' of citizenship by the projected Union;' and piously asks the clerical Irish Romanist, 'will he defer to unfurl the
' sacred banner, and to call back the deluded Rebel from
' the colours of Infidelity?' that is, from his alliance with France, 'which nation,' he says, 'knows the cruel power
' of artifice and design upon the devout and agitated bosom
' of poor and honest ignorance, sacrificing all things, suffering
' all things, and daring all things, in the cause supposed of
' Religion.' (See from page 72 to 76.) The author then states, 'that England cannot support her Colony in its
' present state; that it were better for England, that her
' Colony and the whole island of Ireland were precipitated
' to the bottom of the sea, or blotted from the map, and
' expunged from the list of nations, than that she should
' remain a diversion of her power and force, an arsenal of
' attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of her blood
' and resources in the present war.' (See page 79.) He then asserts, 'that there are three millions of wretched natives, whom the Irish Protestant cannot oppress but by
' the arms of England, nor deliver but with his own
' ruin.' (See page 84.) 'That the natives have been always
' oppressed

'oppressed by the Colony, and that they have no hopes of
 'reprieve and safety, but in the grant of *Complete Eman-*
 'cipation: that the Protestant Government of Ireland is
 'vested in a representative body, the majority of which
 'are placemen and aspirants of the Law, and in a factious
 'aristocracy which outweighs even corruption.' (See
 pages 88, 89.) 'That the natives or Catholics' (for he
 sometimes calls the Irish Romanists by the one name,
 sometimes by the other; but the Protestants invariably
 Colonists, Planters, and Settlers) 'cannot expect eman-
 'cipation from the *Parliament of Dublin*. Will a handful
 'of men emancipate a multitude? Will an armed regi-
 'ment liberate a disarmed host? It is a mystery not very
 'profound, that *Fear* is a coward, that *Weakness* cannot
 'confide, and that *Injury* never pardons.'—'The Par-
 'liament of Ireland' (here the Author nodded, he meant
 the Parliament of Dublin), 'dares not set him (the Ca-
 'tholic) free. It is the Imperial Parliament, it is the
 'power, greatness, and superiority of England which alone
 'can break *his chains*, or contain him in the first trans-
 'ports of *Liberty*. Will the native refuse the boon (the
 'Union) at the end of *six centuries of calamity, of fruitless*
 '*struggles, and tenacious oppression?*' (See page 91.) Then
 still under the pretence of recommending the Union, he
 proceeds to throw the covering of his veil over every
 thing that can disgust or inflame, by the following in-
 vective on the Colony: 'The Union is necessary, because
 'the alternative that remains, is such as nature sickens
 'at, as humanity rejects, as instinct flies from, because
 'it is rebellion and military government, because it is
 'imprisonment, torture, and sudden execution: because
 'it is armed prosecutors and juries of soldiers, with *their*
 '*Serjeants learned in the Law*: (witty rogue!) because it
 'is

‘ is the curfew and the passport bill; because it is invasion, massacre, rape, and pillage, and conflagration; because it is the wretchedest and most degrading condition of humanity, the most disgusting series of misery and guilt, the blackest and most lengthened scene and procession of crimes and sufferings, that ever humbled or afflicted man.’ (See pages 93, 94.)

He then proceeds to state a dilemma to the Irish Protestant: *you must either agree to an Union, or grant Emancipation to the Romanists*; and shows that the last horn will gore him to death, the first only slightly wound him: ‘ if,’ says he, ‘ you determine on the last measure, you receive a Catholic Parliament, you are ruined if the doors of Parliament are opened to a Catholic majority, if you divide your power with three millions of malcontents.’ (See pages 94, 95.) Admitting here, that though the Romanists shall in his sense be emancipated, yet they will remain malcontents; and that if they are admitted into Parliament, they will soon form the majority.

His last argument to induce Irish Romanists to agree to an Union is, that they will be admitted to seats in the Imperial Parliament; that is, as he expresses it, they will be *completely emancipated*.

I have now laboured through this most disgusting performance, and laid before the reader an epitome of the doctrines contained in it in the language of the author. I now proceed to make a few short remarks on it, just to point out to the British reader its falsehoods and absurdity: to show that the whole tenour of it militates against its pretended purpose; and that the Author himself meant it as

a justification of the recent and all former Rebellions of the Irish Romanists, of all their massacres, robberies, and conflagrations ; as a vehicle of all manner of invective and slander against the Irish Protestants, and the English Government in Ireland ; and as a provocative to the Irish Romanists to recommence hostilities against their Protestant fellow-subjects, and stimulate them to revenge and murder.

I will begin with making an observation or two, on his styling Irish Protestants Colonists, and Irish Romanists Natives. His first view in distinguishing the inhabitants of Ireland into these two classes, was, that he might indulge the rancour of an Irish Romanist against Irish Protestants by the more unbridled abuse, from conviction that English Protestants would not attend patiently to such reviling of their fellow Protestants, under the title of Protestants, and for no other cause than their being Protestants. The Americans, as was the general opinion, had not conducted themselves with gratitude towards the mother-country, and he hoped to divert the resentment of the inhabitants of Great Britain against the American colonists for their secession, on the heads of the Irish Protestants ; by styling them Colonists, and representing that their late partial rejection of an Incorporating Union with Great Britain was a plain proof, that they intended to follow the example of the American colonists, and break off all connexion with Great Britain. Another and his principal purpose was, to justify the Irish rebellions and massacres, and to induce the British nation to believe, that they were only the struggles of the oppressed natives of Ireland, to free themselves from the tyranny of a handful of colonists, wrongful intruders on their soil and property, and rapacious plunderers ;

plunderers ; and thereby to induce Great Britain to join them in crushing so flagitious, so contemptible, and so feeble a band of monopolists ; who, though unable to maintain their ill-gotten possessions against the natives, the right owners, without the assistance of Great Britain, yet had the audacity to reject an Incorporating Union. The Writer knew that the British nation could not be led into a co-operation with Irish Romanists, in so wicked a scheme as the destruction of the Protestants of Ireland, but by artifice and cunning : he hoped to make such a scheme palatable, and to veil it from the eyes of the British nation at large, by the substitution of the words *Natives* and *Colonists*, in the place of *Papists* and *Protestants*.

That he is himself an Irish Romanist is notorious from many passages in his pamphlet, though he endeavours, awkwardly, to conceal it ; as some of his countrymen in conversation attempt, ludicrously enough, to pass themselves for natives of Britain, by an affected imitation of English provincial tones, and muzzling the Irish brogue. And one of his main purposes is, to excite the Irish Romanists to a new rebellion and massacre, by describing the Irish Protestants as a handful of colonists, outcasts from their own country, and desperate adventurers, the proper objects of the vengeance of the natives ; and this purpose he so little conceals, that he has in several passages represented, in express terms, the propensity of Irish Romanists to *revenge*, that is, to rebellion, as very justifiable. If the British nation could be induced by such base arts to concur in the destruction of the Irish Protestants (which could be effected by the power of Britain confederated with the mass of Irish Romanists), this Writer well knew, that the sure foundation of British influence and power

in Ireland would be uprooted; and, as he well knew the irreconcilable hostility of the Irish Romanists to a Protestant British Government, he was convinced that such an event as the destruction of the Irish Protestants would be immediately followed by an attempt of the Irish Romanists to separate themselves, with the assistance of France (whose politics he fraudulently pretends to reprobate), from Great Britain, and to establish an independent Romish Republic in Ireland; and I have already shown that this is the avowed intention of the whole Romish party in that kingdom. Such is the fraud of distinguishing the inhabitants of Ireland into *Colonists* and *Natives*, rather than into *Protestants* and *Romanists*! I will now show the falsehood and absurdity of the distinction.

Geraldus Cambrensis, otherwise Gerald Barry (who was, in the reign of King Henry the Second, Bishop of St. David's in Wales, Historiographer and Secretary to Henry, a man, for that age, of great learning, and the person whom he sent into Ireland with his son John, when he created him King of Ireland), Roger Hoveden, Matthew Paris, and all the ancient English historians, agree in giving the following account of the acquisition of Ireland by the English Monarchs: In the reign of Henry the Second, Ireland was divided into certain *suffragan kingdoms* (if I may so call them), subject to one Monarch, as principal King or Emperor, to whom the other Kings paid much the same homage as the German Electors at present to his Imperial Majesty. Intestine wars drove one of these petty Kings from his own country: he fled into England, and implored the assistance of Henry to enable him to regain his territories.

Henry,

Henry, after sending some adventurers before him to smoothe the way, went into Ireland at the head of a considerable army, in the year 1172, above six hundred years ago. The Irish nation, worried by continual intestine war, universally received him as a deliverer. All the Reguli and Chiefs of the nation, with the chief Monarch himself, threw their crowns at his feet: they, with the whole body of the Bishops and Clergy, elected him King or Lord of the whole island, and swore allegiance to him. He accepted the dominion, and agreed with them, *that they should enjoy the like liberties and immunities, and be governed by the same mild laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, as the people of England.* Henry afterwards, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, created his son John, under the style and title of Lord of Ireland, King of that country; for he thereby enjoyed all manner of kingly jurisdiction, pre-eminence, and authority. Richard the First, eldest brother of John, afterwards died without issue, on which event John became King of England, and the sovereignty of the two nations became again vested in the same person. Henry the Third, son of John, in November 1216, gave a Magna Charta to Ireland, word for word the same as that which he eight years afterwards granted to his kingdom of England, save the necessary alterations in the names of places. By the Irish Statute of the 33d of Henry the Eighth, chap. 1, the King's style of Lord of Ireland was changed to that of King, because, as the preamble recites, *' the King, under the style and title of Lord of Ireland, enjoyed all manner of kingly jurisdiction, pre-eminence, and authority in Ireland, belonging to the imperial state and majesty of a King;'* and so the King's style has remained ever since. Thus it is plain that all the inhabitants of

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Ireland,

Ireland, whether aboriginals, or of English race, descended from ancestors who from time to time, since that kingdom was annexed to the English Crown, settled in Ireland, are equally the King's subjects, and equally entitled to every benefit of the British Constitution, except such of them as render themselves liable to particular restraints, by professing doctrines inimical to the State.

Mr. Molyneux, in his celebrated '*State of Ireland*,' has the following observation on this absurd position, that Ireland is to be considered as a British Colony: 'The last thing I shall take notice of, that some raise against us, is, that Ireland is to be looked upon only as a colony from England; and therefore as the Roman colonies were subject to and bound by the laws made by the Senate at Rome, so ought Ireland by those made by the great Council at Westminster. Of all the objections raised against us, I take this to be the most extravagant; it seems not to have the least foundation or colour from reason or record. Does it not manifestly appear by the Constitution of Ireland, that it is a complete kingdom within itself? Do not the Kings of England bear the style of Ireland amongst the rest of their kingdoms? Is this agreeable to the nature of a colony? Do they use the title of Kings of Virginia, New England, or Maryland? Was not Ireland given by Henry the Second, in a Parliament at Oxford, to his son John, and made thereby an absolute kingdom, separate and wholly independent on England, till they both came united again in him, after the death of his brother Richard without issue? Have not multitudes of Acts of Parliament, both in England and Ireland, declared

‘ declared Ireland a complete kingdom ? Is not Ireland
 ‘ styled in them all, the Kingdom or Realm of Ireland ?
 ‘ Do these names agree to a colony ? Have we not a
 ‘ Parliament and Courts of Judicature ? Do these things
 ‘ agree with a colony ? This, on all hands, involves so
 ‘ many absurdities, that I think it deserves nothing more
 ‘ of our consideration.’ See Molyneux’s State of Ireland,
 printed by Long, Dublin, 1749. P. 52, 53.

Since I have quoted this celebrated tract, I hope I shall
 be excused for a short digression here, to show by another
 quotation from it, that Mr. Molyneux, the famous
 champion for the independence of the Irish Legislature
 on that of England, was notwithstanding a firm friend
 to an Incorporating Union of the two Kingdoms. In
 page 37 he has the following passage, which is fraudu-
 lently omitted in a subsequent edition printed in 1782 :
 ‘ If, from these last-mentioned records, it be concluded
 ‘ that the Parliament of England may bind Ireland, it
 ‘ must also be allowed that the people of Ireland ought
 ‘ to have their Representatives in the Parliament of Eng-
 ‘ land ; and this I believe we would be willing enough
 ‘ to embrace, *but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for.*’
 How small the hopes of the Irish nation at the time
 Mr. Molyneux wrote, were, of their being admitted to
 the benefits clearly resulting from an Incorporating Union,
 may be conjectured from what happened soon after the
 accession of Queen Anne. The Irish House of Peers at
 that time petitioned the Crown to promote such an In-
 corporating Union ; but the English Ministers scornfully
 rejected the application. Thank Heaven ! sound sense
 and reason have since triumphed over such absurd pre-
 judices,

To return from my digression. I trust I have clearly proved, that the Irish nation neither is, nor can be considered as, a British colony; and I have before, in accounting for the sanguinary disposition of Irish Romanists to their Protestant fellow-subjects, shown, that no such distinction as that of Native and Colonist does or can subsist between the present inhabitants of Ireland; and that the only general distinction between them is, that of Protestant and Romanist,—a distinction, which I hope will be extinguished only by the conversion of so large a portion of our population to the Protestant Faith. I shall therefore, in the following remarks on this abominable libel, and in extracting and expelling the virus of it, substitute the words *Protestant* and *Romanist* for the words *Colonist* and *Native*.

The Author, in the first place, states, that the Irish Protestants, when compared with the Romanists, are but a handful. I have already exposed the falsity of this statement, both as to number and property. (See Appendix, No. 1.) He asserts that the Irish Parliament (called by him sneeringly the Parliament of Dublin) is not the Representative of the Nation, but of this handful of Protestants. Irish Romanists were enabled, by the Act of 1793, already mentioned, to vote at the elections of Members of Parliament, and were admitted to the exercise of that franchise at the election of the present Irish Commons. By the British Constitution, the election of the Commons is made by the people in proportion to their property, not their numbers. I have already shown, that of the property of the nation, thirty-nine parts out of forty are in the hands of Irish Protestants; so that if the Act of 1793 had not passed, and if the
present

present Commons had been elected by the Protestants alone, it would be a falsehood to state, that they were not the legitimate Representatives of the People: they would be the Representatives of thirty-nine parts out of forty of the People, reckoned by their property; the remaining fortieth part of the property being in the hands of persons disqualified from voting by the laws of the Society, founded in wisdom and justice. But even that fortieth part voted on the election of the present Representatives. In fact, the Commons of Ireland are elected by a much greater proportion of the property of the Irish nation, than the Commons of Great Britain by that of the property of the British nation, the relative wealth and population of the two nations duly considered: so that this Author's assertion, that the present Irish Commons are not the Representatives of the Nation in general, but of a handful of Protestants, is as false as most of his other assertions.

Further to disgrace and vilify the Irish Parliament, and to excite and provoke Irish Romanists to rebellion and murder, and with no other possible design, he states, *that the Irish House of Commons is elected by Englishmen, and composed of Englishmen, to the exclusion of the ancient occupants of the soil.* Here, notwithstanding his flimsy disguise, the whole traitorous Irish Romanist bursts forth in full deformity! It can hardly be alledged that such an assertion was intended to provoke the enmity of the English Nation against the Irish Parliament. No, no: it is the true genuine sentiment of all Irish Romanists, who call all Protestants in their language *Sasonaghs*, that is, Englishmen; the Irish Parliament are *Protestants*, and therefore, in their vocabulary, *Englishmen*. It is the
Romanist

Romish war-whoop in Ireland against their Protestant countrymen: it marks them out for slaughter, as the cry of Mad dog! is the signal for the destruction of the canine species. It is the very same sentiment contained in the Letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the Society of United Irishmen, and the celebrated Agent of the Irish Romanists, to his associated Conspirators in Belfast, in the year 1791. It is as follows: ‘ We have no national Government: *we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen*, filled, as to commerce and politics, with the short-sighted and ignorant prejudices of their country.’ (See Appendix, No. 2, to the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, 1798.)

This abuse and degradation of the Irish Parliament militate directly against the pretended scope of the pamphlet, which is, to induce the Irish nation to agree to an Incorporating Union with Great Britain, and which can be accomplished in a lawful peaceable way, not otherwise than by the concurrence of the Parliaments of the two countries in the measure; and this Writer not only insinuates, but openly asserts and proclaims, that the Irish Parliament is not the Representative of the Irish Nation, that is, is not a Parliament, and is therefore incompetent to contract or agree for the Irish Nation. Here then his mask falls entirely off, and his true purpose appears, which is, to inflame the Irish Romanists to rise up against and destroy a band of English Usurpers, pretending to be their Representatives, and actually assuming the government of the country. He calls this band, in many places, Robbers and Plunderers; and tells the Irish Romanists, that the weakness of this band makes them
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jealous and afraid of them ; and that they cannot expect to be emancipated or trusted by such Usurpers, whose force they despise ; and that the Irish Protestants have a trembling dependance on Great Britain for a daily and precarious existence.

In the next place, he takes care to inculcate the doctrine of the baseness and corruption of this band of English Usurpers, the Irish Commons: he states, with his accustomed disregard, and even contempt of truth, that out of the whole number, being three hundred, there are one hundred and sixteen Placemen, and seventy Aspirants of the Law. The number of practising Barristers in the House of Commons does not amount to more than thirty-five, including all the Law Officers of the Crown, and many of these are Placemen ; and there are not more Placemen, in proportion to their numbers, in the Irish House of Commons than in the British. In my ‘ Answer ‘ to Mr. Grattan’s Address to the Citizens of Dublin,’ I have fully discussed the question, whether the conferring places of trust and emolument on Members of the House of Commons by the Crown, be an improper or unconstitutional exercise of the prerogative ; and I trust I have proved that it is not : for I have shown, first, that the Crown cannot select persons to fill places of trust out of any other body with so much propriety ; nay more, that the Crown is under the necessity of employing Members of the House of Commons as its servants, in executing the public business of the nation, in preference to the members of any other body : and, in the next place, I have shown, that the influence of the Crown in the House of Commons, derived from the patronage of such places, is a constitutional influence ; that the frame of
our

our Government could not subsist without it ; and that, in many cases of political economy, theory must bend a little to practice. But it is worth observing, how inconsistent this Author's accusation of corruption against the Irish House of Commons is, with that part of its conduct which he pretends has raised all his indignation against it ; that is, its rejection of the proposal on the part of Great Britain of an Incorporating Union of the two nations, notwithstanding this proposal was supported in the Irish House of Commons by the whole weight and influence of the Administration, and by several honest and able Senators, who were not Placemen ; yet it was rejected. It was supported by one hundred and eight Members only. What became then of the one hundred and sixteen Placemen ? It is plain that the alledged corruption of the Members of that House, by the disposition of places among them, had not the effect of warping them to vote contrary to their opinions. In truth, the measure was too precipitately urged ; due time was not afforded for the cool and serious consideration of the great and substantial merit of so important a project ; it was very improvidently sought to be carried by a coup de main : but I trust and firmly expect that the measure will meet with a very different reception in the ensuing session ; and that time and reflection, and the good sense of the Commons, though indignant at the unjust accusation of corruption, will ensure its success.

The author's next abuse of the Irish Protestants, as grantees of Cromwell and William the Third, as the children of their soldiers and the heirs of their rapacity, again betrays the Irish Romanist, whose heart is goaded by the ælstrum of revenge. As the first effusion of his
rancour,

rancour, he places our illustrious Deliverer, in part the Founder, or at least the Restorer, of our present glorious Constitution, in the same rank with the desperate Regicide. Next he vents his abuse on all Irish Protestants, stating them to be the children of the soldiers of these two Commanders, and the heirs of their rapacity. He reprobates all the forfeitures and confiscations of the Irish Traitors, which took place after the suppression of two Irish Rebellions; the one in the reign of King Charles the First, the other in that of William and Mary. These forfeitures and confiscations are the constant themes of abusive Romish declamation in Ireland. The whole party load the memory of Cromwell, as well as of King William, with every species of vituperation: this snarling cur, therefore, only runs on the trail of his growling precursors, and joins in the constant cry of his own pack, when he opens against the Regicide and the Monarch; but it is not improper to examine the grounds of his acrimonious complaints.

The English Monarchs, successors of Henry the Second, inherited great dominions in France. The maintenance of their power on the continent engrossed their attention, drained their treasures, and found constant employment for their armies. Hence the Government of Ireland, till the reign of Elizabeth, was much neglected. The Irish natives, scared at the dawn of civilization, preferred the gloom of their own forests and morasses to the sunshine of cultivation and improvement. The great English Lords, who became entitled to vast tracts of land in Ireland, such as the Earl of Chepstow, otherwise Strongbow, who, by marriage with the only daughter and child of the provincial

vincial King of Leinster, acquired vast possessions in that province, did not take the proper care to improve the country. They brought over with them to Ireland many of their friends and vassals: they by degrees mixed with the native Irish, and adopted their barbarous customs. When the great civil war broke out in England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, most of the chiefs of the great English families in Ireland joined the contending parties, and went over to England with their vassals and retainers. The barbarous Irish joined the degenerate English mixed with them, took the advantage of the weakness of the Government, the natural effect of the migration of its supporters: they rebelled, and seized on nearly three fourths of the kingdom, which continued in a lawless barbarous state till the accession of Queen Elizabeth. That great Princess, after a long and expensive war, reduced to obedience all the Irish Rebels, but died before she could reap the harvest of her victories. Her successor, James the First, laboured with great activity and zeal on the settlement and civilization of the whole kingdom. He divided the lands forfeited by Rebellion, in some places into three parts; two of which parts he distributed among the ancient possessors, whether native Irish or degenerate English; the remaining third he bestowed on new settlers from Scotland and England. In other places, he distributed half of these lands to the old possessors, the other half to new settlers. He divided such parts of the kingdom as had, in the manner before mentioned, been seized on and occupied by the natives and degenerate English, into counties. In these new, or rather revived counties, he erected towns and created boroughs: he instituted a regular Parliament, the Members of the House of Commons of which were elected
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by the old possessors and the new settlers without distinction, in proportion to their properties, throughout the whole nation. Romanists and Protestants sat indiscriminately in the Houses of Lords and Commons. None were excluded by any Test Oaths whatsoever: the only oath required was the Oath of Allegiance. Every measure which human wisdom could devise was pursued, as well in the reign of James as in that of his successor Charles, to civilize and improve the country. The inhabitants, without distinction, were invited to all the comforts and all the benefits of civilization and a well-regulated Government. The nation assumed a different appearance from that it had worn for a series of ages; and a complete fusion of all descriptions of Irish inhabitants would have been then effected with rapidity, were it not for the unhappy differences on the score of Religion. The intolerant, unsocial doctrines of Popery, irreconcilable to the Protestant institutions, had taken deep root in the minds of the majority of the inhabitants; and from thence sprung the most barbarous and most unprovoked Rebellion of Irish Romanists recorded in history. This Rebellion, which broke out in the year 1641, cannot be palliated, as an Insurrection of oppressed Natives against usurping Colonists: for the best disciplined, best provided, and most numerous army of the Insurgents, was composed of the inhabitants of the English Pale; a part of Ireland which was peopled by English settlers, who for ages before had continued faithful to the English Crown, and till that period had never intermixed by marriage, or any sort of connexion, with the native Irish. It was commanded by General Preston, brother of the then Lord Gormanstown. It was an avowed Rebellion of Irish Romanists, undertaken
by

by them for the purpose of extirpating Irish Protestants of all descriptions, and severing themselves from England, at that time distracted by civil commotions. The Rebels in Munster were commanded by Lord Mountgarret, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, all, or most of them, of the old English race. During the first year of this Rebellion, the Rebels murdered, at the lowest calculation, near forty thousand Irish Protestants, men, women, and children, in cold blood: many of them they put to death by the most excruciating tortures. Such of the Protestants as escaped from the first explosion of the Rebellion, which burst suddenly and unexpectedly like a thunder-storm on their heads, flew to arms; and for a space of ten years and upwards, with very little assistance from England, maintained a cruel and destructive, though unequal war, with the Rebels, and protected the surviving Loyalty of the nation, as well from the Republican Fanatics of that age, as from these Romish Traitors, who frequently, in the course of the Rebellion, joined the Republicans, and invariably adopted such measures as they thought would most conduce to their ends,—the Establishment of Popery, the Extirpation of Protestants, and the Separation of Ireland from the British Crown. At one period of this Rebellion, the chief Traitors proposed a treaty with the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant in Ireland; to which proposal he was obliged, by the necessity of His Majesty's affairs, to accede. The treaty was concluded, and the Marquis, with a part of the Royal Army, was inveigled by the Rebels to Kilkenny, the place of meeting of what they styled the General Assembly of the Catholics of Ireland, much of the same nature with the late Romish Convention which assembled

in Dublin. The Rebels most perfidiously, at the instance of the Pope's Nuncio, broke the treaty; and two of their armies, commanded by Generals Preston and O'Neill, marched to surprise the Marquis, to intercept him in his retreat to Dublin, and to cut off his troops. They were very near succeeding in their enterprise, the Marquis escaping with great difficulty. In short, they contributed full as much as the Scotch Covenanters, to the final success of the Republicans in England, and the subversion of the Monarchy. But the Almighty saw their wickedness and perfidy, and punished them by the hands of their own associates in rebellion and murder. The English Republicans, having made themselves masters of England, sent over an army under Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, not to their lawful Sovereign, but to the newly-erected English Republic; and to revenge the blood of the Protestants of Ireland so inhumanly spilled by them. In one short campaign he completely routed and dispersed their murdering, dastardly bands. Such of them as escaped the sword, he drove out of the nation or hanged, parcelled out their landed property, justly forfeited by their Rebellion, among the surviving Irish Protestants, who had been robbed by them; his own officers and soldiers, in lieu of their pay; and men who had subscribed large sums of money to defray the expenses of his expedition, who were styled Adventurers. On the restoration of Monarchy, this division of the lands so justly forfeited to the Crown was revised, and its justice and propriety strictly examined and inquired into, by Commissioners duly appointed for that purpose. In every case in which it appeared that the lands of an innocent person were comprized in the division, they were restored to him or his heir; and the

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person in consequence dispossessed was awarded a compensation, called a Reprisal ; and the titles of all to the lands justly forfeited were established and confirmed by two Acts of the Irish Parliament, entitled, the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

The complaint of this Romish Writer of the confiscations by King William is still more unjust. The Irish Romanists, after the accession of William and Mary, rose in rebellion in a mass. Their views were the very same as in the Rebellion of 1641,—the establishment of Popery, and Separation from England. Their apparent attachment to King James the Second arose from interested views : they hoped by his means to procure powerful assistance from the Court of France, and they considered him only as an engine auxiliary to their real designs. When that Rebellion was finally suppressed by the surrender of Limerick in the year 1691, one of the conditions stipulated on behalf of the Romanists was, that such of them as chose to remain in their own country, rather than repair to France and enter into the service of that hostile nation, should, on their taking the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, preserve their estates discharged of forfeiture and confiscation on account of their rebellion. A few of them chose to stay at home, and they preserved their estates : the rest went to France, and thereby voluntarily submitted their estates to forfeiture ; which estates were afterwards partly sold for the public benefit, and partly granted by the Crown to persons who had loyally served it in such critical times. The complaints, therefore, of this Romish Writer, of the forfeitures and confiscations in the times of Cromwell and King William, amount to this ;

this; that the confiscation and forfeiture of the property of Rebels, the most sanguinary and barbarous whose crimes ever blotted and defaced the page of history, are unjust; amount to robbery and plunder, exercised by rapacious usurpers, though warranted by the known law of the land in all ages; and consequently that the law of the land warrants and patronizes robbery, plunder, and rapacity; and that all loyal subjects are robbers and plunderers. And in conformity with this doctrine, he proceeds to reprobate all punishment of the late Irish Rebels by confiscation and forfeiture.

This Romish Writer asserts, that Irish Protestants have a trembling dependance on the English nation for their existence; and dwells on their weakness, timidity, and cruelty, and on the irresistible strength, numbers, and courage of the present race of Irish Romanists, with exultation and delight; intimating, that if the English nation will remain neuter, the Irish Romanists will instantly extirpate the Irish Protestants, who at present, by the aid of England, keep them in *chains*. It is therefore proper to examine whether Irish Romanists be in a state of oppression and slavery, and kept in *chains* by their Protestant countrymen. By the laws of Ireland at present, the Romanists enjoy more real political liberty, and better security for their lives and properties, than the most favoured subjects of any foreign State in the known world. They elect their Representatives in Parliament; in which Parliament, together with the King, the supreme authority of the State is vested; they have the benefit of a constitutional Jury to try all questions which affect their lives or properties; they enjoy the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act as much as Protestants; they

have a share in the Magistracy ; they are Grand Jurors ; they can acquire and dispose of their properties, real and personal, as freely as Protestants ; they enjoy a complete toleration in Religion ; the Law and the Army are open to them ; and they are on a perfect equality with all His Majesty's other subjects, except that their own refusal to take the Test Oaths excludes them from seats in Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State. (See all the present incapacities of Irish Romanists, particularly specified in the 9th section of the Act of the 33d year of His present Majesty, entitled, ' An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish ' or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.' Appendix, No. 2.) Such are the chains and fetters in which their Protestant countrymen bind Irish Romanists ! and such is the slavery so pathetically deplored by this Writer, and others of his persuasion !

The strength and puissance of Irish Romanists have been put to the trial in their late Rebellion. They were vanquished and completely subdued by the Protestant power of the nation, without any assistance from England, in the course of about six weeks. The Marquis Cornwallis, as before observed, had no part of the merit of quelling the Rebellion : it was effectually crushed by the measures taken by his predecessor, before he had time in any manner to interfere. It is true, some part of the routed Rebels took shelter, after his arrival in Ireland, in the mountains of Wicklow, and from thence made incursions, in detached gangs of banditti, into the counties of Kildare and Meath ; but they were hunted like wild beasts by the Protestant Yeomanry, and would have been all slain or hanged, were it not for the merciful

interposition of the Marquis. Immediately after his arrival in Ireland, he published a Proclamation of Indemnity to such of these Rebels as would submit, and surrender their arms. His Generals restrained the efforts of the Yeomanry, incensed against the Rebels for the slaughter of their relations and friends, and the waste of their property. At the time this Proclamation was issued, the Rebellion, as to any effects to be dreaded from it of important damage to the nation in general, was crushed; and the routed Traitors, hopeless, without resource or means of efficient resistance, justly expected the punishment due to their horrible crimes; which the Marquis, following the dictates (as I suppose) of his own clemency, or perhaps by orders from England, remitted.

Two of his Generals were employed to suppress the only considerable body of this scattered Banditti, which remained together in the mountains of Wicklow: they were mostly Murderers, Robbers, and Desperadoes, hopeless of pardon; some of them Deserters from different Regiments of Militia. A Gentleman of the county conducted these Generals and their forces to a certain part of the mountains, the rendezvous of these assassins, where they might have destroyed the whole gang, amounting to about six hundred; but these Commanders declined to attack them, declaring they were unwilling to shed the blood of *the poor wretches*. They therefore thought it prudent to coax them into submission; for which purpose they dispatched two Romish Priests to them, loaded with the Proclamations of Indemnity; they collected as many country Girls as they could procure; they hired a number of Irish Pipers; they provided hogheads of whiskey, set the Pipers playing, and

the Girls dancing, which so delighted the Murderers, that many of them came in, gave up their pikes, partook of the festivity, and departed with plenty of whiskey in their stomachs, and protections in their pockets. The clemency of the Marquis and his Generals was celebrated in all the Romish Newspapers of the city of Dublin; his praises were waisted to London; the Courier, the Morning Chronicle, &c. re-echoed them; the whole Opposition in England from top to bottom,

From flashing Bentleys down to piddling Tibbalds,

rung the changes on his liberality, his mercy, his clemency, his wisdom, &c. : and well they might; for the Marquis arrived in Ireland in the very nick of time, to rescue their party there from final extinction. In short, in respect to the Irish Rebels, the conduct of the Marquis has been marked with concession, conciliation, and pardon, not with warlike hostility; for expiring Rebellion did not demand the exertion of his military talents, and he disdained to trample upon prostrate Traitors. It is my fervent wish, my constant prayer, that the mercy thus extended to these Romish Insurgents may incline their hearts to peace and loyalty, and make them understand, that they live under and are protected by a Government the mildest upon earth, which wishes not to inflict the punishments due to their crimes, but rather that they should repent, and enjoy the comforts of peace and security under the protection of laws, to which all the members of the community are equally subject.

The Marquis Cornwallis certainly merits the tribute of just praise from all the loyal subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, for the powerful exertions of his military
skill,

skill, in putting the kingdom into the most complete state of defence against the invasion of the foreign enemy, with which it is threatened. Every branch of military service has been attended to by him with the utmost care and zeal: the troops have been stationed so judiciously in cantonments, that a strong body can be assembled with great expedition in any part of the kingdom, against which the Enemy may point his attack; the Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, Regulars and Militia, are perfectly well equipped and provided, and the Yeomanry well armed and trained, and ready for action at the shortest notice; the whole nation wears a military aspect, and its force is so combined and regulated by the skilful arrangements of the Marquis, that it may bid defiance to an infinitely more formidable force than its foreign enemies are able to bring against it; and internal tranquillity is re-established, *at least for the present.*

The weakness and timidity of the Irish Protestants are the next themes of this Romish Declaimer; according to him, their weakness makes them timid, their timidity cruel. Of the vaunts of the strength, numbers, and wealth of Irish Romanists I have already exposed the falsity; as well by the event of the late Rebellion, as by a fair calculation of their real numbers and wealth. The same arguments and calculation prove the real strength, numbers, and wealth of Irish Protestants. I trust that in the late Rebellion, as well as on all former occasions, Irish Protestants have plainly disproved the charge of timidity. The cruelty this Author charges upon them, is, that they cruelly refused to grant, what he calls Emancipation, to their Romish fellow-subjects: that is, it is

a great cruelty in Irish Protestants to refuse to deliver the Sovereignty of the State into the hands of Irish Romanists; and this cruelty arises from cowardice; for Irish Protestants are afraid to do so. If such be cruelty and cowardice, I hope such will for ever be imputable to Irish Protestants: may they always be afraid to deliver the State into the power of its enemies! and may they always cruelly refuse to betray the Constitution! it is the same cruelty and cowardice a man is guilty of, who tells a gang of robbers, 'Do not attempt to come into my house, for if you make such attempt, I and my servants will resist, and perhaps kill you; I will not trust you in my house, keep at the outside.' Such a man certainly is afraid to let them into his house, and threatens to kill them if they attempt to force an entrance: is he therefore guilty of cowardice and cruelty?

But one argument remains, demonstrative of the real strength of Irish Protestants: they have raised during this war, in which their connexion with Great Britain has involved them, immense sums for the service of the Empire in general, and for the prosecution of the war. That Irish Parliament, which this Writer vilifies and traduces, as the Representatives of a handful of Protestants and Englishmen, has raised in this year seven millions sterling for the public service, though the nation was in that year weakened by the Rebellion of Irish Romanists; of which great sum one part out of forty only was, or could be paid by Irish Romanists: some part of that money, it is true, has been borrowed in England, but on the credit and security of the Irish Funds; both principal and interest are to be paid by Ireland. All the English Militia, who, on the breaking
out

out of the Rebellion, so gallantly volunteered for the assistance of their brethren the Protestants of Ireland, as well against their foreign as domestic enemies, were paid, after they arrived in Ireland, out of the Irish Treasury and Irish Funds. Are the Irish Protestants then so weak, as to be the objects of derision and contempt to this Romish Writer and his associates? And is Ireland only a diversion of the power and force, an arsenal of attack and injury, and a devouring gulf of the blood and resources of England in the present war, as this Romish Writer asserts? The revenues of Prussia, one of the most potent European States, do not amount yearly to six millions sterling. Ireland, by the efforts of her Protestant Parliament and population, has contributed seven millions in the last year, and in the preceding year, five millions, to the support of the war, and has not cost Great Britain a sixpence for her defence. It is true the British Fleet and British Militia have flown to her support, when threatened with invasion by the common enemy: but Ireland has paid the British Militia for their assistance. And has not Great Britain employed her fleets and armies for the support of her allies in the present war, and even paid the troops of her allies for fighting in their own defence? And is she not bound to give greater assistance to Ireland, a part of the British Empire, to defend her against the common enemy, than to foreign nations her allies? This Writer says, *it would be better for Great Britain, that Ireland were blotted from the list of nations, and sunk in the sea, than that she should remain a diversion of her arms in the present war.* May not the same be said with equal justice of any part of Great Britain itself, if threatened with an attack by the enemy; of Yorkshire, of Scotland, for instance?

instance? Ireland is in fact as much a part of the British European Empire, as either of the countries mentioned, and her subjugation by the enemy would be as injurious to that Empire, and so would her loss, by immersion in the ocean.

The complaints of this Libeller, of a criminal neglect of the natives of Ireland by the English nation, and that the barbarity of these natives is justly to be attributed to this neglect, are utterly unfounded: ever since the commencement of the reign of James the First, as long as the distinction of Native and Colonist, or rather New Settler, remained among the inhabitants of Ireland, the attention of the English Monarchs, and their Ministers in Ireland, was uniformly directed to the encouragement and civilization of the natives; and to the abolition of all distinctions between the inhabitants of the country. Their benevolent intentions have been counteracted only, by the intolerant spirit of Popery, incessantly operating as an effectual barrier against harmony and union, as I have already proved.

This Author's praises of the Romish titular Bishops in Ireland, of *their learning, humanity, and piety*; of all which accomplishments, I presume he means to offer Hussey, the titular Bishop of Waterford, as a shining example; his advice to them, *to unfurl their Sacred Banners*; his suggestion of the doctrine of *Imprescriptibility*, of which he hints a feeble disapprobation only, according to which Irish Romanists, or, as he calls them, *Natives*, have a right to the possession of all the lands of the nation, which no time, no length of possession can alienate; and his frequent introduction of the eternal principles of

of *revenge* of the Irish Romanists against Irish Protestants; all, all proclaim him an inveterate Irish Romanist; and his folly as well as impudence in attempting to assume the mask of an Englishman.

I shall now close my observations on this anonymous slanderer and his libel, with the sum of his arguments, to induce the inhabitants of Ireland to consent to an Union with Great Britain; from which it will clearly appear, that his real design was directly contrary to his professed one; and was to promote the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, by stimulating the Irish Romanists to a Rebellion; and by sowing the seeds of dissension between the English and Irish Protestants; and thereby depriving the latter of all assistance from Great Britain, if not ensuring its hostility against them.

His argument to the Irish Protestants to induce them to consent to an Union, is as follows: ‘ You, the Irish Protestants, are the basest, most tyrannical, most cowardly, most cruel race of mortals on the earth; you are as weak as you are cowardly: we, the English Protestants, consider you in this light; we detest your crimes; you are murderers and robbers, you cannot exist but by our favour and protection. Give yourselves up directly into our hands without reserve; if you do not, the descendants of those you have murdered and robbed will quickly destroy you: notwithstanding you are so infamous a race, and that we have so thorough a contempt for you, we will confer on you a perfect equality with ourselves; and we, the bravest, the richest, and the most honourable people on the earth, will associate with you on perfect terms
‘ of

' of equality. Robbers, murderers, and dastardly
 ' wretches as you are, you shall become our companions
 ' and our friends; we will treat you exactly as brethren;
 ' you shall share all our advantages and all our fortunes.
 In short, the means by which he proposes to reconcile
 Irish Protestants to an Union with Great Britain, are,
 in the character of an Englishman, to load them with
 ' every species of abuse, slander, and calumny, and
 brand them with every crime which can debase humanity.
 Very conciliating means truly!

His arguments to induce Irish Romanists to agree to
 an Union with Great Britain are: ' You, the natives of
 ' Ireland, have been basely and wickedly tyrannized over
 ' by the English nation for six centuries past, as your
 ' confidential agent Mr. Tone has already told you. The
 ' English have robbed you of your lands, they have reduced
 ' you to a state of barbarous slavery: they govern you at
 ' present by a gang of corrupt sub-tyrants, whom they style
 ' a Parliament, *electd by Englishmen, and composd of Eng-*
 ' *lishmen, to the exclusion of you the ancient occupants of the soil:*
 ' these sub-tyrants are the Representatives of a handful
 ' only of Englishmen, their fellow-tyrants in your coun-
 ' try of Ireland: you are fully able to destroy them, for
 ' they are weak and timid. You are justly entitled to all
 ' the lands now possessed by them, *for no length of time can*
 ' *warrant their retention of them.* You have endured *six*
 ' *centuries of calamity, of fruitless struggles and tenacious op-*
 ' *pression.* Great Britain, employed fully in the present
 ' war with France, is unable to protect her colony of *mur-*
 ' *derers and robbers.* Now is your time for shaking off the
 ' English yoke. You have *revenge* to gratify, and the
 ' *recovery of your property* will be your reward: the de-
 ' struction

' destruction of the English invaders will be the certain con-
 ' sequence of your attempt to shake off your chains. I
 ' lately heard a proposal made in the British Parliament ut-
 ' terly to extirpate you ! not to leave a *Rahilla* (that is, a
 ' Tribe) of you living ! The English are Heretics, with
 ' whom it would be impious for you, by the principles of
 ' your holy Religion, to associate, or fraternize. Your
 ' Bishops are men of the greatest piety, humanity, and
 ' learning, particularly the *Right Reverend Father Hussy*,
 ' your Bishop of Waterford : you have all read his pious
 ' Pastoral Letter, fully stating your oppression by a handful
 ' of *Heretics*, not a tenth, nay not an hundredth part of you
 ' in number. Unfurl your sacred banners, as your
 ' brethren the late suppressed Irish martyrs did ; they
 ' marched under sacred green banners, with a white cross
 ' and reversed crown floating in the midst : you ought to
 ' have all joined in that holy war, though you did not,
 ' from an ill-grounded timidity ; consequently the Here-
 ' tics were victorious. Yet I advise you to forget your
 ' revenge, to abandon all thoughts of recovering your lands,
 ' and to give yourselves up into the hands of the *English*
 ' *Heretics* by agreeing to an Incorporating Union with
 ' Great Britain !

How far such arguments are likely to succeed with
 Irish Romanists in promoting an Union ; and how far
 the Author intended they should succeed, I leave to the
 judgment of the reader.

I shall now proceed, pursuant to my original purpose,
 to make a few short remarks on some pamphlets which
 have been published in England, on the subject of an
 Incorporating Union, as the substance of Speeches made
 in

in both Houses of the British Parliament, by men of great rank, and in high offices in Britain. My remarks shall be confined to such parts of their Speeches, as relate to the two great classes of Irish population, to wit, those of Protestants and Romanists.

Observations on a pamphlet, entitled, 'The Speech of Lord Minto, in the House of Lords, April 11, 1799.'

I will begin with a pamphlet entitled, '*The Speech of Lord Minto in the House of Lords, April 11, 1799,*' because his Lordship has consumed sixteen pages, beginning at page 66, and ending with page 82, in arguing for the right, as he styles it, *of Irish Romanists to political equality with Irish Protestants*. He styles their exclusion from Parliament, and from about thirty of the great offices of the State, such as those of Viceroy, of Lord Chancellor, of Judges, and of General in Chief, &c. *the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation*; throughout styling Irish Romanists, Catholics, not Romanists, or Roman Catholics, excluding Protestants from all title to *Catholicity*, though Christians: he states himself to be a warm friend to the measure of an Union, principally on account of its meliorating the condition, and extinguishing the discontents of a great majority of the inhabitants of Ireland, *by providing for the just claims of the Catholic Irish, by an explicit article of the treaty itself*. And he states a very curious dilemma, entirely founded on the assumed position, *that Irish Romanists have a just right to political equality with Protestants*; which assumption his Lordship, who seems to be an expert logician, must know to be *petitio principii*. The dilemma is thus: 'Protestant ascendancy in Ireland cannot be supported without derogating from *what may appear to be a natural right of the Catholic*:' (in many other places he positively asserts it to be his right.) 'Catholics can-

not

' not be supported in their claim of equality, without
 ' transferring to them that ascendancy, which equality of
 ' rights must draw to the larger body ; this must ex-
 ' pose the Protestants to danger, who ought to be pro-
 ' tected : and Ireland in its present situation will be
 ' gored by one or other of the horns of this dilemma.'
 He styles the Irish Protestant ascendancy a '*monopoly* op-
 ' posed to *common right*, that is, to the right of Ro-
 ' manists to political equality.' His Lordship, being
 aware of His Majesty's Coronation Oath, and the Treaty
 of Union between England and Scotland ; of both which
 he was too cautious in direct terms to recommend the
 violation ; expresses himself thus : ' I do not see how
 ' the *jus tertii*, as it may be called, of England, can
 ' affect the relative claims of these two Irish nations
 ' (Protestants and Romanists), or of these two parts of
 ' the Irish nation ; and therefore I might have thought
 ' it difficult to assign a sufficient reason, to preclude His
 ' Majesty, as sovereign of Ireland, from concurring
 ' with his Irish Parliament, or even from exerting, in
 ' every lawful way, his legitimate powers, in promoting
 ' such measures as might be calculated to place every class
 ' of his Irish subjects on an equal footing as to civil
 ' rights, and consolidate these two hostile nations into
 ' one peaceable and united family.' All this cautious, cir-
 cumlocutory, wheedling argument is used by his Lord-
 ship, to insinuate, that England has no interest in sup-
 porting the Irish Protestants ; and that the Coronation
 Oath, and the Treaty of Union between England and
 Scotland, ought not to preclude the adoption of measures
 tending to the subversion of the present Protestant estab-
 lishment in Ireland. His Lordship proposes two methods
 of effecting this : one through the medium of the Irish Par-
 liament ;

liament; the other, through that of the King's prerogative: and I with his Lordship had condescended to explain, by what lawful exertion of the King's prerogative, the acts requiring the Oath of Supremacy to be taken, and the Declaration against Popery to be repeated and subscribed, by all Members of both Houses of Parliament, and by all the great officers of the State, can be dispensed with, or how these Acts can be repealed or altered, except by Parliament. The rejection of this Oath and Declaration by Romanists, is the only bar to their being on an exact level with Protestants as to all civil rights: what then can be his Lordship's meaning in insinuating that Romanists may be put on an exact level with Protestants, by His Majesty's exerting in every lawful way his legitimate powers, as contra-distinguished from his concurrence with his Parliament? Does he mean to insinuate that His Majesty possesses a legitimate power to dispense with the provisions of Acts of Parliament? And if he does not, I hope his Lordship will take an occasion of explaining this passage for the satisfaction as well of Irish as of English Protestants.

His Lordship proceeds to argue, "I cannot admit the ascendancy of one part of a nation over another part of the same nation, to the extent, and to the purpose claimed in Ireland (that is, the exclusion of Romanists from seats in Parliament, and from the great offices of the State, by the obligation of the Acts enjoining the taking of the Oath of Supremacy and the repeating and signing the Declaration), as capable of assuming any character deserving the denomination of right; that which is wrong on one side, cannot, intelligibly to me, become a right in the other: wrong

' is not a material of which it appears possible to con-
 ' struct right. The virtues of possession, prescription,
 ' or any other limitation of time, which are supposed to
 ' cure the vices of a bad title, are not at all applicable
 ' to the case of perpetually subsisting, and as it were
 ' renovating wrongs, especially such as affect the poli-
 ' tical rights of great numbers of men ; instead of con-
 ' verting right into wrong, they only improve and for-
 ' tify the title of those who suffer, to shake off the in-
 ' jury on the first opportunity that offers.' His Lord-
 ship then states, ' that the Catholics of Ireland not only
 ' claim a participation in civil franchises enjoyed by
 ' their Protestant countrymen, but they foster claims
 ' on the property of Protestants, the present possession
 ' of which they treat as mere usurpation.' He then
 gives a fling, in the true French taste, against the as-
 piring character of *all Churches*, as he was obliged to
 admit that such was the character of the Romish
 Church. With a good deal of caution he insinuates,
 that titles to lands, or any thing else, by prescription,
 are not the best ; and that all titles of Irish Protestants,
 either to ascendancy in political power, or to property,
 are by prescription. The first he absolutely condemns,
 as continuations of wrong ; with respect to the other,
 the titles to landed property, he only '*hints a flaw, and*
 '*hesitates defect.*'

Notwithstanding all this argument for the justice of the
 claims of Irish Romanists to political equality, and after
 stating, ' that their prospect of obtaining it by the Treaty
 ' of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, is his prin-
 ' cipal reason for approving that measure ; and after dis-
 ' tinguishing the two classes of Irish Protestants and Ro-

‘ manifests by an East Indian term of *different casts* : and
 ‘ stating, that they are inflamed against each other by
 ‘ mutual hatred, whose motives are irreconcilable, its
 ‘ character bitter, malignant, and implacable ; that the
 ‘ sovereign cast of Irishmen (that is, Protestants) claim
 ‘ their sovereignty as of right, and ground it on an old
 ‘ title of *conquest*, confirmed, *as they contend*, by possession,
 ‘ acquiescence, and *prescription* :’ and after drawing all
 this picture of the state of Ireland, and in the middle of
 all his laboured argument of the *right* of Irish Romanists
 to *political equality*, his Lordship makes the following in-
 genuous confession: ‘ I certainly pretend to no credit on
 ‘ such points from *personal knowledge or inquiry*. I should
 ‘ wish, therefore, to qualify any thing that may appear
 ‘ rash or peremptory, in what I hazard on such a subject,
 ‘ by avowing that degree of diffidence in my own views,
 ‘ which may be thought becoming with regard to facts,
 ‘ which though attested, I think, satisfactorily by others,
 ‘ have not fallen under my own observation.’ It is sin-
 cerely to be wished, that his Lordship, confessing his own
 want of knowledge of the subject, had been less rash and
 peremptory, and had not hazarded so much on the state of
 Ireland, and on the subject of the claims of Irish Ro-
 manists to political equality (though, as his Lordship ex-
 presses himself, *he could not help sympathizing with them*, and
 consequently with all the members of Opposition both in
 Great Britain and Ireland ; and with all the Jacobins in
 both kingdoms, who have repeatedly proclaimed a similar
 sympathy), because his Lordship being a great diplomatic
 character, and high in the confidence of the British Go-
 vernment, does no small mischief to that very Government,
 in advancing and openly patronizing principles subversive,
 not only of the Irish Constitution, *but of the British also*, as

I hope to make evident, and that too without any necessity whatsoever for the promulgation of such doctrines ; which, so far from being favourable to an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, tend to render the accomplishment of that great measure more difficult, perhaps impracticable : and it is the more to be lamented, when it is considered, that the measure can be supported by irrefragable arguments of signal public advantage, without resorting to such fallacious and pernicious principles and doctrines.

I have been diligent in my inquiries respecting Lord Minto, as I have not the honour of the slightest personal acquaintance with his Lordship. From the information I have received, I find that he is a Scotch gentleman of family, and before his advancement to the Peerage, he was known by the name and title of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. and had been for a time Viceroy of Corsica : he had contracted a great intimacy with Mr. Edmund Burke, the great Irish apostle of Popery already mentioned. He appears by the pamphlet I am now commenting upon, to be a person of learning and sagacity : his abilities stand confessed by his being intrusted by the British Government with the execution of commissions of the greatest importance, and with the most honourable embassies : his services to his King and Country have raised him to the British Peerage. In this pamphlet he has collected the most powerful arguments, which have been urged, either in Great Britain or Ireland, in favour of an Incorporating Union of the two countries, and disposed them in admirable order : though little is urged in it, which had not been already laid before the public ; yet the arguments are digested in so perspicuous and connected a series, and dis-

posed of with so much judgment, that it may be said to comprize in itself all the merit of all preceding publications on the subject : I think it a very valuable performance. With these ideas of it, I felt great pain on reading the passages I have quoted. The rank and ability of the writer, and the excellent reasoning contained in the other parts of it, rendered a refutation of these exceptionable paragraphs and their doctrines a work of imperious necessity. Such are my only reason, and my only excuse, for entering the lists of argument with so great and so respectable a character as his Lordship, though I am as sincere a friend to the measure of an Incorporating Union as his Lordship.

All his Lordship's arguments in favour of the claims of the Irish Romanists to political equality are founded on this one position, *that they are entitled to that equality by common right*. Common right, in the usual acceptation of the word, means the common law of the land : but I presume his Lordship means it in a more extended sense, and that he means a right founded on the immutable rules of reason and justice. If this position is overturned, his Lordship's whole argument falls with it : it therefore demands examination. The rights of mankind in political societies are twofold, natural and political : the first are born with a man, he becomes entitled to them the moment of his birth ; but as man is a social animal, and as the human race cannot subsist but in society, he becomes entitled to them with this limitation, that the enjoyment of them is to be regulated by that society of which he is born a member, whilst he continues one of that society. The society may establish certain rules for its own preservation, and without which it cannot subsist, restraining

4

and

and modifying the full exercise of what are called natural rights, in cases where the full exercise of natural rights would endanger the existence or security of the society; and regulations for the secure enjoyment of natural rights thus modified. To these rules and regulations all members of all political societies must submit; and all the benefits men enjoy under these laws are their political rights. In fact, mankind's political rights, are their natural rights modified, and their enjoyment secured, by the laws of society. Natural rights are immutable; modifications of them by the laws of society are various, in the various societies of mankind on the face of the globe; and hence they are styled political rights as distinguished from natural. The laws of each society have been originally framed on the consent of the majority of the community, either tacit or express: general acquiescence implies tacit consent: actual compact, as is the case in some societies, is express consent. These rules have been altered in societies at times by tyranny and usurpation. In the British Empire, the common law is that system of law which is established by tacit consent for ages: the statute law is that system of law which is established by consent or agreement of the members. In great or even considerable empires or governments, it is utterly impracticable to collect the opinions of all the members of the society taken by the poll, on any public measure: such an attempt would tend to inevitable confusion and dissolution of the society; because the great mass of the people in all States, subsisting by bodily labour, are ignorant, and incapable in general of forming correct opinions on great and momentous political questions. By the British Constitution, generally and deservedly esteemed the very essence of political wisdom, the method of collecting the opinions of the majority of

the nation, for the purpose of enacting new laws, or altering or abrogating the old ones, is partly by the votes of the majority of a certain class of great and distinguished personages eminent for their dignity and property: but chiefly by the votes of the majority of Representatives chosen by the people, and assembled in general Council or Parliament: these Representatives, though they represent the whole body or mass of the people, yet are not elected by the majority of votes of the people of each district reckoned by the poll, but by their property: and one twentieth part of the people at large are not qualified, by their property, to vote at the elections of their Representatives in Parliament either in England or Ireland.

What Lord Minto styles the sovereignty of the Protestants in Ireland over the Irish Romanists consists in this: that Protestants are capable of sitting in Parliament, and of filling about thirty of the great offices of the State, to which the exercise of the supreme Executive Power is intrusted: and the Romanists exclude themselves from these two capacities by rejecting the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, as already mentioned: both which the Protestants take and subscribe on being admitted into Parliament, or into any of these offices. In every other particular there is a perfect equality of political privileges at present between Irish Protestants and Romanists. The Irish Protestants maintain that the aforesaid exclusion of Irish Romanists (which his Lordship is pleased to style Protestant Sovereignty and Monopoly; terms learned in the Schola Burkeiana) had its origin in political right, and in the very first of political rights, to wit, that of the State to preserve its own existence, and independence of all foreign jurisdictions: and whatever ascendancy (styled by his
Lordship

Lordship Sovereignty) this exclusion has conferred on Irish Protestants, they claim the same, not, as his Lordship very erroneously supposes, on the title of conquest, of acquiescence or prescription ; but on the statute law of the land, enacted both in England and Ireland. And I cannot sufficiently express my amazement at this very extraordinary mistake of his Lordship, a great diplomatic character, and supposed to be perfectly well acquainted with the laws of his country !

The exclusion of Romanists from all public offices in England and Ireland, commenced with the operation of the Statute which enacts the Oath of Supremacy, and which was enacted in England in the first, and in Ireland in the second year of Queen Elizabeth : and all access to such offices in England has been doubly barred, as against Romanists, by the Test and Corporation Acts. (See Appendix, No. 3.) In Ireland these two Acts, there also enacted, have been with great precipitancy, not to say want of political wisdom, repealed in 1793 ; except so far as relates to the great offices of the State already mentioned. The exclusion of Romanists from seats in Parliament, arising from the Oath of Supremacy and Declaration, took place in England by the operation of the Statute of the 3^d of Charles the Second, chap. 2 ; and the doors of Parliament were further barred against them in England by the Statute of the 1st of George the First, chap. 13, both which Statutes are yet unrepealed : they were both enacted soon after in Ireland. By these Statutes, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government, it is enacted, that no Member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in the presence of the House, taken the Oaths of

Supremacy,

Supremacy, Allegiance, and Abjuration; and repeated and subscribed the Declaration against Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, and Sacrifice of the Mass. (See English Statutes, and 1st Blackstone's Commentaries, p. 158, octavo edition.) By the 22d article of the Union of England and Scotland, all Scotch Members are obliged to take the same Oaths, and subscribe the same Declaration: and in the Act ratifying the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland two Acts of the respective Parliaments of the two nations are recited, the one providing for the perpetual establishment and maintenance of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the other for the perpetual establishment and maintenance of the Church of England, in England, Wales, *Ireland*, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed: and these two Acts are therein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of that Union. (See Defoe's History of the Union of England and Scotland, from page 557 to 562, and the English Statutes.) How then can his Lordship maintain that the exclusion of Irish Romanists from Parliament, and the aforesaid offices, which he, adopting the phraseology of his Gamaliel, Mr. Edmund Burke, is pleased to style Protestant Sovereignty, Ascendancy, and Monopoly, is a wrong; and its continuance a continuance of wrong? He must mean, that it is a restriction of the natural rights of man, which is not required by that first of political objects, the safety and preservation of the State; or that it is not conformable to the opinions of the majority of the members of the community, and therefore unjust. As to the first, I have already proved, that Romanists, from their religious doctrines, ought not to be admitted to the enjoyment of any portion of the Sovereignty of a Protestant State; and that they should

should be excluded from the Houses of Lords and Commons, both in Great Britain and Ireland, because it would be highly injurious, and perhaps, in Ireland, destructive to the State to admit them; and consequently that it is no wrong to exclude them. If their exclusion is a wrong in Ireland, it must be a wrong in Great Britain; for the principles of natural justice are immutable, and not variable by the circumstance of their being more numerous in Ireland than in Great Britain. What is right or wrong in this particular in the one country, must be right or wrong in the other. Their exclusion in Ireland is more requisite than in Great Britain, on account of their greater numbers in the former country, and their claims to all the landed property in the hands of Protestants, the possession of which, his Lordship states, they consider as *usurpation*: and Dr. Troy, as before mentioned, states, that they consider the Protestant Establishment an *usurpation*. These circumstances render their elevation in Ireland more dangerous than in Great Britain, and their exclusion in the former country more just and reasonable.

If his Lordship thinks the exclusion of Romanists from Parliament and the great offices of the State a wrong, he must think that all the great statesmen in Britain and Ireland, since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were workers of iniquity; and all the Statutes enacted since, respecting Romanists, public wrongs; he must think King James the Second was perfectly justifiable in endeavouring to remedy this wrong; the glorious King William the Third an usurper; and all who assisted in the Revolution of 1688 Rebels. His Lordship declares it to be his warmest wish

with to establish Irish Romanists in an equality of civil rights with Irish Protestants; King James the Second professed nothing more. He professed similar designs in England. His attempts to carry these designs into execution, both in England and Ireland, cost him his crown, and consigned him and his luckless progeny to perpetual exile.

His Lordship cannot arraign the aforesaid Statutes of injustice in excluding Romanists, on the principle that they are not conformable to the opinion of the majority of the Irish nation: for, waving the argument of the superior number by the poll of the Protestants in Great Britain and Ireland, taken together, over the Romanists, and considering Ireland a distinct and independent nation (which it is not), let his Lordship's principle be examined by the principles of the Constitution: by that constitution, the Representatives of the People are elected by the People, reckoned, not by their numbers by the poll, but by their property: thirty-nine parts out of forty of Irish property are in the hands of Irish Protestants, consequently the constitutional power of election is possessed by the Irish Protestants, though Romanists now enjoy the elective franchise, as well as Protestants: the House of Commons, so elected, together with the Lords and the Monarch, have enacted these Statutes, by the operation of which Romanists are excluded; that is, they were enacted by the true legitimate Sovereign Power of the State. The very capacity of sitting in Parliament and enjoying public offices is a political right, merely arising from the institutions of civil society, and may justly be withheld or abridged by the supreme constitutional power of that society, when it deems

deems the exertion of its authority in such particulars conducive to the well-being of the State. With what propriety or truth can his Lordship then maintain, that the exclusion of Romanists from certain political situations, effected by the operation of Statutes enacted by Parliament, assembled pursuant to the principles of the Constitution, is a wrong, and an unjust invasion of their natural rights? It is a position not to be supported by reason or argument!

I trust I have fairly lopped off the first horn of his Lordship's dilemma, to wit, that exclusion of Irish Romanists cannot be supported, and consequent Protestant ascendancy maintained, without violation of the natural rights of the Irish Romanists, and continuation of the injustice. I have reduced his two-horned bugbear to an unicorn; and I will preserve the remaining horn, to wit, that the exclusion of Irish Romanists cannot be repealed, and their claims acceded to, without detriment to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, to gore and lacerate (to use his own words) the remainder of his Lordship's argument with: nay more, I will sharpen this horn, and prove, that the admission of Irish Romanists into Parliament and the great offices of the State, would, in the event of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland taking place, be subversive of the Constitution of the Empire in general; and that the publication and support of such a project by great Ministers of State are very likely to disincline the real friends of the Constitution in Church and State, as well in Great Britain as Ireland, to the measure of an Union.

However,

However, before I begin to use the horn, it is not improper to take notice, that his Lordship has insinuated that Irish Protestants hold their estates under the titles of Conquest or Prescription. Conquest is in general a title founded on wrong; and the title by Prescription his Lordship endeavours to discredit. I am extremely sorry to be obliged to observe, that his Lordship here manifests much want of knowledge of the real situation and circumstances of Ireland, and that his Gamaliel has led him again into a gross error. If any estates in Ireland can at this day be said to be enjoyed under the title of Conquest, they must be such as were acquired by the first British adventurers in Ireland in the reign of Henry the Second. His acquisition of Ireland cannot properly be called a Conquest; for though he arrived in Ireland at the head of an army, the whole Irish nation, as I before observed, submitted, and swore fealty to him, and chose him for their Monarch, without putting him to the necessity of striking a blow. Of the great estates acquired by his followers, some were gained, not by force, but by lawful conveyance and succession: such was that of Richard de Clare, Earl of Chepstow, surnamed Strongbow, who married the only daughter and child of the King of Leinster, and became in her right entitled to a vast territory in that province, in which he settled a great number of his vassals; and which always, till the reign of Elizabeth, was the most considerable seat of the English Colony in Ireland, and great part of it was called the Pale, or the Territory governed by English Laws. However, whether the first English adventurers gained their estates by the sword, or otherwise, I apprehend to be at this day of little consequence, for there is scarce remaining a single estate in this kingdom

dom which is not held by titles derived from Elizabeth, or her successors, by Patents, Acts of Parliament, or other good and sufficient conveyances. And it might be said, with more reason, that all the great families in England, most of whom yet retain their Norman surnames, and whose ancestors obtained estates in the reign of William the Conqueror, held these estates by Conquest. For the acquisition of England by William preceded the acquisition of Ireland by Henry only by one century; and a much greater proportion of persons in Ireland, possessing landed estates, have old Irish surnames, than persons of the same description in England, who have Saxon, or old British surnames.

The insinuation, that many Irish Protestants derive the titles of their estates from prescription, is equally groundless. After the first acquisition of Ireland by the English Crown, there does not seem to have been any very great influx of English into Ireland for some centuries. The civil wars of York and Lancaster drew out of Ireland most of the great English families which had settled in it, together with their vassals, and most of them perished in that unhappy contest. The greater part of the remainder of the English Colony adopted the barbarous Irish customs, and degenerated into Irish barbarians. After the accession of Elizabeth, the Earl of Desmond, a great and powerful Nobleman in Munster, of English extraction, rebelled against her; she subdued him, and all his vast possessions were forfeited to the Crown: she granted them to a considerable colony of English settlers. The great and formidable Rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone broke out afterwards in her reign: he possessed, by himself or his vassals, almost

almost the whole province of Ulster. The Queen, after a long, expensive, and destructive war, which desolated the country, completely vanquished him, but died before she could reap the fruits of her victory. Her successor, James the First, employed his whole reign in improving the nation; he divided part of the lands forfeited in this Rebellion, and another which followed close on its heels, among English and Scotch settlers, and his loyal Irish Protestant subjects, and the rest he parcelled out among the native Irish. His son, Charles the First, followed his example; and a great part of the Irish nation, which held their lands by prescription, surrendered them to the Crown, and passed patents for them, conforming to the English law of tenures, either in capite or socage. When Cromwell had reduced the Irish Rebels, he divided the lands forfeited by the Rebellion among the soldiers, adventurers, and loyal Irish Protestants. Such of his grants as still subsist, and a large portion of Ireland is held under them, were confirmed immediately after the Restoration, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The forfeitures of the Rebels in the reign of King William have been also disposed of by patents among the King's loyal subjects. And all these estates, since the original grants of them, have been conveyed over and over again, for valuable considerations, by family settlements, and by purchases, insomuch that there is scarcely one estate in the whole Kingdom of Ireland held by the title of prescription; the original grants of them all can be produced, or are recited in the different conveyances. But if they were held by prescription, as his Lordship erroneously supposes, a possession of two hundred years from the reign of Elizabeth; of one hundred and fifty, at least, from the reigns

reigns of James and Charles; of near an hundred and fifty from the time of Cromwell; and of upwards of one hundred since the last forfeitures in the reign of King William, would constitute a good title to the present possessors by the laws of Great Britain and Ireland, which make sixty years undisturbed possession a good title, and a bar in a writ of right.

As a considerable part of the landed estates in the possession of Irish Protestants consists of lands forfeited to the Crown in the different Rebellions I have mentioned, when his Lordship hints that Irish Protestants derive their titles to their estates from Conquest, he must mean, that the suppression of every Rebellion is a Conquest. The just rights of a conqueror are pretty accurately defined by Mr. Locke, in his Treatise on Government, but the conduct of a conqueror to the vanquished is generally measured by his will and pleasure; and is the exercise of an arbitrary tyranny over their persons and properties: and his Lordship's view, in insinuating that the titles of Irish Protestants to their estates are founded in Conquest, seems to be, to disparage Irish Protestants, as deriving their properties from the exertions of unlawful violence and rapacity; that is, in plain English, that they are the heirs of robbers and plunderers; as has, indeed, been already asserted by the abusive Author of '*Considerations on the State of Public Affairs in the Year 1799.*' I never before heard it insinuated, that the suppression of a Rebellion was a Conquest of the nation: Conquest entirely changes the laws, constitution, and government of a nation; but the suppression of a Rebellion, in part of a nation (and in every Rebellion a part of a nation only is engaged),

gaged), does not change the laws, constitution, and government of a nation: it, on the contrary, establishes them all, and gives them additional security. Are the suppressions of all the various Rebellions in England, since the accession of William the First to the present day, to be considered as Conquests of England? And is the suppression of every Rebellion in Ireland, since the accession of Henry the Second, to be considered as a new Conquest of Ireland? the very supposition is an absurdity. Rebellion is High Treason; its guilt and its punishment are accurately defined by the laws of England and Ireland, and one part of the punishment is the forfeiture of the property of Rebels to the Crown: the Crown disposes of this forfeited property to its loyal subjects, in reward of their services, or for other valuable considerations; and the Grantees of the Crown hold such property by a legal title, not founded on Conquest, but on the known and established laws of the land. But whatever was his Lordship's view in insinuating that the Irish Protestants held their estates by the title of Conquest, and that the Irish Romanists, being unjustly dispossessed, had a right to reclaim them, whether it was to disparage or to intimidate, Irish Protestants, conscious of the justice and lawfulness of their titles, and of their own strength and courage to defend them against all attempts of Irish Romanists, read such insinuations with the most perfect apathy, as they do all his Lordship's laboured doubts respecting the efficacy of a title by prescription; and were it not for the high respect I entertain for his Lordship, I might make use of a harsher expression.

I now

I now turn myself with the remaining horn (of his Lordship's dilemma, to wit, that the admission of Irish Romanists into Parliament, and to the great executive offices of the State, would be very prejudicial to the Irish Protestants, and would much endanger the established Constitution in Ireland.) To render this horn still more formidable, I can furnish it with a very strong and very sharp antler, to wit, that such admission would, in case of an Union, greatly endanger the British Constitution, and must be attended with an innovation in it; which, I trust, will be reprobated by His Majesty, by the great Minister, who now with so much glory to himself, and advantage to the Nation, takes the lead in the British Cabinet; and by all the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Great Britain: and that, so far from promoting an Union, the very proposal of so dangerous an innovation, must throw the greatest impediments in the way of that most salutary measure.

The danger of admitting Irish Romanists into Parliament in Ireland, that is, into a share of the sovereign authority of the State, I have already very fully exposed. The appointment of a Romish Viceroy of Ireland, of a Romish Lord Chancellor, of Romish Judges, of a Romish Commander in Chief of the army, and the admission of Romish Peers and Commoners into Parliament, must all tend to the subversion of the Irish Protestant Establishment, both in Church and State; this is so notorious, that no arguments are required to prove it: it is evident that such appointments, and such admission, would of themselves be a subversion of the present establishment. This horn without the antler is sufficient to lacerate all his Lordship's arguments in the present situation of Great Britain and Ireland.

Let us now suppose that an Incorporating Union of the two countries had taken place, and that they were consolidated into one body. If in such case Romanists were to be admitted into Parliament, and to fill the great offices of the State, all the laws enacted in England against Popery, since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, must be repealed. I will mention some of these Acts particularly, that *the People of England may clearly understand the momentous and dangerous alterations which must be made in the British Constitution*, which has been improving from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, till it has attained its present unrivalled excellence; under which the present generation and their ancestors for two centuries have lived; and which has descended to the People of England during that period, in succession from father to son, as an inheritance; if what Lord Minto styles *the present humiliating and degrading exclusion of the Catholic part of the Irish nation* shall be done away, by the adoption of his scheme of conferring equal privileges on them with their fellow-subjects, in case of an Union.

The Act of the 1st of Elizabeth, which enjoins the taking of the Oath of Supremacy by all public officers; the Bill of Rights, the 1st of William and Mary, new-modelling the Oath of Supremacy, and extending the sphere of the operation of the Act of Elizabeth in respect to that Oath, must be repealed. The Acts of the 30th of Charles the Second, chap. 2, and the 1st of George the First, chap. 13, enacting that no Member shall sit or vote in either House of Parliament, till he hath, in the presence of the House, taken the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, and repeated and subscribed the Declaration, must be repealed. The

Test Act, requiring all officers, civil and military, to take the above Oaths, repeat and subscribe the Declaration, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, must be repealed: the Corporation Act must share the same fate. These two Acts, Blackstone states to be bulwarks of the Constitution, and that they were enacted to secure the established Church against perils from Non-conformists of all denominations, among which he particularly enumerates *Papists*. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv, page 57, octavo edition.) And he states, that the Acts of Charles the Second and George the First, requiring all Members of both Houses of Parliament to take the Oaths, and repeat and subscribe the Declaration, were enacted, to prevent crude innovations in Religion and Government. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i, page 158, octavo edition.) The articles and provisions of the Treaty of Union of England and Scotland must be altered: that one, among others, which enjoins the taking of the Coronation Oath by His Majesty; and more particularly those parts of the Treaty styled by Blackstone fundamental and essential conditions of the Union. (See Blackstone's Commentaries, 1st vol. pages 92, 93, octavo edition.) I have quoted Blackstone on these points, to show the opinions of that able constitutional lawyer on the parts of the *English* laws relating to Papists; because in his remarks on the *English Popery Code*, he expresses his opinion, that several parts of it, which he enumerates, may be repealed without inconvenience; but the parts I have above mentioned, he thinks essentially necessary to the preservation of the Protestant Establishment in Church and State in *England*, and that they cannot be repealed

consistently with the safety of that establishment in *England*, or with the continuation of the Union of England and Scotland.

It may be here argued, that an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland may be effected, without all the aforesaid alterations in the laws of England; for stipulations may be inserted in the Treaty of an Union of the two nations, that Irish Romanists, elected in Ireland members of the imperial Parliament, shall sit and vote therein, without taking the Oaths, or subscribing the Declaration above-mentioned; and that they shall be capable of filling public offices in Ireland on the same terms. And it may be urged, in respect to offices, that such stipulations have taken place in the Act of Union of England and Scotland; for Scotchmen are by that Act capable of filling public offices in Scotland, without taking the Oaths prescribed to be taken by public officers in England, and without receiving the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England. On the part of this argument which relates to public offices, I shall only observe, that public officers in Scotland, as I am informed, are obliged to take oaths and engagements full as hostile to Popery, as those enjoined to be taken by public officers in England, *which they were obliged to take in their own country before the Union*: and that no Scotchman can enjoy any office in England without taking the Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament as prescribed in England. But with respect to the capacity of sitting in Parliament, such stipulations can receive no sort of countenance from the conditions of the Union of England and Scotland; for the Scotch Members are not admitted to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain,

Britain, without taking the same Oaths, and repeating and subscribing the same Declaration, as the English Members are obliged to take, repeat, and subscribe. I will therefore proceed to examine the practicability and justice of the insertion of such stipulations in a treaty of Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and their efficacy in removing the present complaints of the Irish Romanists, in case they were inserted.

It is first to be observed, that by the established Constitution of Ireland, since the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, the Romanists are excluded from Parliament by the Oaths, which it is enacted all members shall take, previous to their admission to sit or vote in either House; they are excluded from the great offices of the State by the same means: and that by Lord Minto's scheme, to raise them from their present *degraded and humiliated condition* (as he styles it), the present laws of Ireland enjoining the taking of these Oaths are to be repealed, preparative to an Union of the two countries; or by the treaty of Union itself to be ratified by the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. He admits that such scheme, whilst the Parliaments of the two countries remain separate and distinct, would be very dangerous to the Protestant Establishment in Church and State in Ireland, if carried into effect; because, as he reasons, the superior number of Romanists in Ireland, when put on a perfect equality with Protestants in respect to civil privileges, would enable them by degrees to engross the whole power of the State, and overturn the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. Now, supposing the two countries were consolidated into one body politic by an Union, and Romanists put on a perfect equality of civil privileges with Protestants

in Ireland; they would, according to his Lordship's reasoning, in time return all the Irish Members to the House of Commons of the imperial Parliament. It is proposed that Ireland, on an Union, shall have one hundred Representatives in the imperial Commons: if these should be all, or a great part of them, Romanists, it would not be very difficult for them, on many occasions, where a Minister might stand in need of their services, to obtain a domineering influence with respect to all Irish affairs: it appears at present, though they have little political power in Ireland, that they have procured an interest in the British Cabinet, very alarming to every attached friend to the Constitution in Church and State in Ireland: this would be increased a thousand fold, if an Union took place on the terms suggested by Lord Minto: in truth, the Protestant Establishment in Ireland could not survive such an event for many sessions. And I beg of his Lordship, and other great British Statesmen, seriously to consider, whether their proposing schemes of Union, subversive of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, is a likely method of inducing Irish Protestants, in whose hands, for the present, almost the whole political power of the State is lodged, to consent to an Union: and whether the continued intrigues of every British Statesman, for some years past sent into Ireland, to act as the Minister, with the Irish Romanists, for the depression of the Protestant interest in that kingdom, and the elevation of Popery on its ruins, are likely to incline Irish Protestants to commit all their civil and religious rights, and those of their posterity, to the absolute disposal of persons who show no disposition to support and maintain them. Lord Minto admits, that Great Britain is bound to support the Irish Protestants

by every tie of gratitude, for their unalterable attachment to the interests of the British Empire : they desire no support from Great Britain, as against Romanists, the common political enemy of British, as well as Irish Protestants : all Protestants, in the eyes of Irish Romanists, are Englishmen, and *vice versa* : they have but one name for both : they are eternal and implacable enemies of Protestants, from the tenets of their religion : Irish Protestants are able, without any support from Great Britain, to protect themselves from all the force, from all the fury, from all the rancour of Irish Romanists : all they require from British Protestants is, that they will not join in a hollow league with the avowed enemies both of English and Irish Protestants, against Irish Protestants : they have not merited such treatment from British Protestants, they have ever remained faithful to the British Crown, they are now supporting it with their blood and treasure, spilling and lavishing one and the other in the present glorious contest ! Give them, then, illustrious British Statesmen, no cause to exclaim, in the language of the Roman poet,

Perierunt tempora longi servitii !

They are ready to coalesce with you, but not on terms which in the end will be found equally detrimental to you and them : they demand, nay entreat no more from you, as the condition of an Incorporating Union, than the preservation of their present Constitution in Church and State ; and they deprecate only its subversion.

I shall now make a few observations on the justice, efficacy, and practicability of such a scheme of Union when considered in respect to Great Britain. By this scheme Irish Romanists must be admitted into the imperial Par-

liament ;

liament; and by his Lordship's reasoning, exclusive of Romish Irish Lords, a great proportion, and in time the whole number of Irish Commoners, to wit, one hundred, which are to be admitted into the imperial Commons, will be Romanists; consequently the above-mentioned English Acts of Charles the Second and George the First must be repealed in favour of Irish Romanists; in fact, they must be entirely repealed, because it would be highly absurd to exclude English and Scotch Romanists, when Irish Romanists are admitted. When thus they have gained admission into the Houses of Lords and Commons in the imperial Parliament, and formed consequently no inconsiderable part of the supreme power of the State, in violation of every principle of the British Constitution since the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth; the British Minister, to secure the support of so powerful a body in Parliament, must deliver into their hands the whole patronage of Ireland. The Protestant Establishment of that nation must be subverted, and all public offices there must be filled with Romanists. If any stipulations shall be made in the treaty of Union, for the security of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland; though such treaty be ratified by the Parliaments of both countries previous to the Union, and by the imperial Parliament after; yet such stipulations cannot subsist for any length of time. No doubt can be entertained, that the imperial Parliament, being the supreme authority of the Empire, will be competent to alter or abrogate the conditions and articles of the Union at its pleasure; and if it should alter or abrogate such articles as relate to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, at the express instance and desire of the Representatives of Ireland in the imperial Parliament, assisted by the British Romish members, who could complain

complain on behalf of Ireland, of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or who could complain with effect? If the Representatives of Scotland in the Parliament of Great Britain should demand an alteration of the articles and conditions of the Union, relating only to Scotland, and the Parliament of Great Britain should comply with such demand, would any complaint be made on behalf of Scotland of the infringement of the treaty of Union? or, if made, would it be followed by any material effect? The maxim of *Volenti non fit injuria* would be the answer to such complaints. When Ireland was by such means converted into a Romish country, would its Representatives in the imperial Parliament, and the Romish British Members, be contented? would their constituents be contented? Certainly not. Scotchmen are capable of filling the highest employments in England, complying with the Test Act; and the Presbyterian doctrines oppose no insurmountable barriers against such compliance; but the Romish do. Many natives of Scotland have risen to the highest stations in England since the Union: the present Lord Chancellor of England, Mr. Secretary Dundas, Admiral Duncan, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Lord Minto himself, with multitudes of others, are present, the late Lord Mansfield and others, past examples, of the great elevation to which the shining abilities of North-Britons have raised them in England. In case of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Irish Protestants being capable of filling high offices in England, the abilities of some of that description might promote them to elevated dignities there. But British and Irish Romanists would be excluded, by the English Test Act, from all public offices in England, and from being officers in any corporations.

porations in England by the Corporation Act. How loud then would the exclamations of the Romish Members of both Houses of the imperial Parliament be against the Test and Corporation Acts ! They would represent, that though, by an Incorporating Union, Great Britain and Ireland were consolidated into one nation, yet they by these Acts were deprived of the benefits of the British Constitution in four fifths of that consolidated nation by these Acts, and admitted only to a share with all their fellow-subjects in the public employments, emoluments, and political power of the remaining fifth ; all their subjects being also admissible to employments in that fifth. They would loudly complain, as they at present do, of this inequality of condition with their fellow-citizens, and insist that they were excluded from the rights of citizenship. If the Minister of the day stood in need of their assistance in Parliament, as he often would, he must listen to such complaints, and listen with favour ! If similar complaints of the Romish party are attended to at present, when they are destitute of political power, much more attention must be paid to them, when they shall form a considerable part of the supreme power of the State. At the Minister's beck, how many Lord Mintos would be found ready to join in the cry of the Romish pack ! how loud would they bellow in the ears of the imperial Parliament *the degraded and humiliated state of British and Irish Catholics !* It is not impossible, that both the Test and Corporation Acts might be thus cried down : and what Blackstone so justly styles the bulwarks of the Constitution, defending the Established Church from all perils from Non-conformists of all descriptions, and the Constitution from all innovations in Religion and Government, might be completely overthrown and destroyed ; and the deluge of Republicanism
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and Superstition, and their certain attendant, Infidelity, let in to overwhelm the British Empire.

But let us suppose, that the sound good sense and spirit of the people of Great Britain should resist and defeat these attempts to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. The certain consequences of an Union with such stipulations in favour of Irish Romanists as I have stated, would be, that both English and Irish Romanists in the imperial Parliament would take every method to manifest their hostility to the Constitution: they would be found the constant supporters of every opposition to the measures of Government in Parliament: they would be the steady allies of the whole Jacobin faction: English and Irish Romanists would by themselves form a powerful party in the imperial Legislature; they would be the patrons and the partisans of every factious project, of every desperate disappointed leader in either House of Parliament; the avowed supporters of every attempt to overturn and destroy the Constitution of their country. And I leave it to British Statesmen, and particularly to that renowned Minister, who has so gloriously and successfully stood forth the protector and supporter of Christianity, of lawful government, of humanity and justice in Europe, to consider, whether such schemes of aggrandizement of Romanists in the British Empire are practicable; and, if practicable, whether they are consistent with the principles of sound policy and justice; and whether any political arrangements whatsoever, short of consigning to them the whole power of the State, will content Romanists; and whether any favours conferred upon them will render them a whit better subjects to a Protestant British Government, than they are at present: whether
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all such arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, do not directly tend to retard, perhaps to defeat, the accomplishment of that great and highly beneficial measure, an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland, by alarming the Protestants of both countries with fears of the subversion of the present Constitution in Church and State, as the unavoidable consequence of such a measure, on the terms and conditions proposed by his Lordship: whether any necessity ever existed for proposing such terms and conditions: whether they have not their origin in the deceptive, destructive, false, and erroneous doctrines respecting Ireland, of the late Mr. Edmund Burke and his disciples: whether it is either reasonable, just, or expedient, to confer such privileges on Irish Romanists, after so many massacres and rebellions, and particularly immediately after their recent massacre and rebellion, which has been very partially and inadequately punished; and which merits vengeance, not honourable reward; and finally, whether such arguments as are advanced by Lord Minto, if persisted in and further urged, may not be the sources of infinite calamity to both countries.

I will take my leave of Lord Minto and his Speech, by observing, that his Lordship in some parts, particularly in those relating to the animosities resulting from difference of Religion in Ireland, seems to desert his usual caution, and to speak in a strain of dictation to Irish Protestants not very conciliating; intimating an abject dependance of the Irish nation on Great Britain, pretty much in the style of a very arbitrary master to his slave; his Lordship's prudence will, I am sure, prevent such errors from creeping into any of his future publications. He also distinguishes Irish Protestants and Romanists by the title of
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different casts; and states, 'that every one knows the firm, and immovable basis on which their mutual hatred stands, the irreconcilable nature of its motives, its bitter, malignant, and implacable character.' His Lordship ought to have been somewhat better acquainted with the Irish nation, before he ventured to give the aforesaid description of it. His information respecting Ireland seems to be very imperfect in other particulars, as well as in the foregoing. In the great East Indian Peninsula, the natives, who are but slaves to the Moors, are divided into several classes, by Europeans called *casts*; they are all of the same Religion, that of Brama; and these casts never intermarry with each other, or intermix in any way, or even eat together. Their Religion teaches them to preserve themselves perfectly separate and distinct the one cast from the other, and so they have continued for ages. No such separation or distinction ever took place in Ireland between Protestants and Romanists: they intermarry with each other, and live together, very frequently in amity and concord, as friends and neighbours. Romanists frequently conform to the Protestant Religion, and there is scarce a family of any note in Ireland which has not relatives of both Religions. Many families of the middle rank are much mixed. Protestant men have Romish wives, and Protestant women Romish husbands; and very often, in such cases, the progeny, male and female, has been educated in different persuasions; the males following the Religion of the father, the females that of the mother. Romanists, when acting in a body as a political party, are very different in their conduct from that which they pursue in private life. The unalterable principles of benevolence which the Almighty has implanted in the breasts of mankind, as social creatures,

tures, exerts its natural influence on Irish Romanists, when disengaged from the leading principles of their sect considered as a faction: it guides them to the exercise of the usual offices of neighbours and friends, to those of a different religious persuasion. When they act in a body, and are actuated by the principles of their sect, *such as they are taught in the Lateran Council*, they have often acted with the greatest barbarity, and committed the most inhuman massacres on their Protestant neighbours, relations, and friends; tearing asunder then all the ties of blood, and violating all the duties of friendship; and such effects of their religious principles make them the more dangerous as a body, inasmuch as they extinguish all the social feelings in the breasts of a class of men as amply endowed by Nature with the social qualities and virtues as any other. The Religion of Protestants teaches them no such inhuman doctrines: they therefore, as a political body, entertain no such detestable opinions. They are willing to treat, and have always treated, their Romish fellow-subjects, as a body, with every degree of indulgence and kindness, which is, or can be consistent with their own safety and protection; and in private life they have always been ready to extend to, and receive from Romanists, every kind of social, friendly, and neighbourly offices. His Lordship is somewhat incorrect, if not offensive, in applying the distinction of *different casts* to Irish Protestants and Romanists; thereby evidently meaning to degrade both the one and the other, by levelling them with the enslaved, ignorant, pagan natives of Hindostan. He is also grossly mistaken in representing the hatred which Irish Romanists, as a body and a faction, manifest against their Protestant countrymen, as *mutual*. Irish Protestants entertain no
such

such hatred of their Romish fellow-subjects, nor did they ever discover any symptoms of such hatred. They have never adopted any deliberate measure of hostility against their Romish countrymen, which was not demanded by the imperious calls of self-defence and protection; and his Lordship might have spared so unwarranted a reflection, as well as others of the same kind, on Irish Protestants. They are indeed well convinced that Irish Romanists, when they act as a political body, do entertain a hatred of Irish Protestants, the motives of which are of an irreconcilable nature, and its character bitter, malignant, and implacable; because they are taught by the principles of their Religion to entertain it; but the Protestant Religion inculcates no such principles.

I have now so fully exposed the misrepresentations of the Political State of Ireland in the English publications respecting the relative numbers, wealth, and power, and the rights and claims, of Protestants and Romanists; the civil dissensions and Rebellions which have taken place in that nation since the Reformation, and the causes of them; that it is not necessary to advert to other modern English publications on the same subject; because the misrepresentations contained in them are all of the same nature with those I have already exposed. But there is one pamphlet lately published, entitled, *‘ Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Sheffield, Monday, April 22d, 1799, upon the Subject of Union with Ireland;’* one paragraph of which I shall here take notice of; it is to be found in page 43, and is as follows: *‘ The objection to Union on the part of the Protestants of Ireland is unaccountable. They can hardly be said to constitute a nation;’*

' nation ; they are an English Colony governing upwards
 ' of three millions of Roman Catholics, or at least six
 ' times their own number, in a country acquired and
 ' maintained by English arms and treasure ; which Co-
 ' lony never could have supported itself, and even the
 ' last summer would have been overwhelmed, unless
 ' protected by the same means, by English power.'

Every person who has read the preceding pages of this tract, will be convinced that every line of this paragraph contains a gross misrepresentation, highly offensive to every Protestant inhabitant of Ireland, and little calculated to promote an Union, the professed object of the Speech. This misrepresentation, I am convinced, is entirely and justly attributable to Burkism, and misinformation conveyed to the noble Speaker by the followers of that sect ; his well-known character setting him high above all suspicion of any other motive. I have already shown that Irish Protestants cannot be considered as an English Colony, when opposed to Irish Romanists. The distinction of Colonist and Native has been long since worn out ; and if the origin of the race of Irish inhabitants is to be traced by their surnames, the inhabitants of native Irish extraction compose a very large proportion of Irish Protestants, and those of native English extraction a still greater proportion of Irish Romanists. His Lordship is egregiously mistaken in his calculation of the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists. (See Appendix, No. 1.) The Romish Convention calculated the relative numbers as three to one : his Lordship has doubled the proportion ! Property is on the side of the Irish Protestants as thirty-nine to one ; they have therefore, though the smaller number, a right to govern the greater, by the principles of the British Constitution.

Situation. Ireland is an acquisition to the British Crown, made by Henry the Second, not by the expenditure of blood and treasure, but by the consent of the natives. If the English Crown has been obliged to employ its arms and expend its treasure in the suppression of subsequent Rebellions, the loyal inhabitants of Ireland have always assisted with their arms and treasure, and the English nation has been fully repaid by the retention of its sister kingdom as part of the British Empire, without which it could scarcely subsist in an independent state, at least in the present situation of Europe. His Lordship is also under a great error, when he states that Ireland is a country maintained by British arms and treasure; and that Irish Protestants, whom he calls a Colony, could never support themselves without British arms and treasure, and that they would have been overwhelmed in the summer of 1798, had they not been protected by English power: for Ireland supports herself by her own arms and treasure, and the Irish Protestants are well able to maintain themselves against any efforts of Irish Romanists by their own arms and treasure; and demonstrated such their ability in the suppression of the Romish Rebellion in the summer of 1798, without any British assistance. Lord Cornwallis came over to Ireland for the purpose of extending pardon to the Irish Rebels, already routed and dispersed, and for defending the country from a foreign invasion; and if the British nation sent assistance to part of the British Empire, invaded or threatened with an invasion by the French, with whom the Empire is at war, was the part assisted under any greater obligation for that assistance than the part which did not stand in need of such assistance? Is not Ireland engaged in the present war with France

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merely because she is a part of the British Empire? And is she not entitled to assistance from the other parts of the Empire, when menaced with an invasion by the common enemy? She is not equal by herself to combat with France, neither are the other parts of the Empire taken separately: they must combat the common enemy with the common force of the whole. It gives me great pain to be obliged thus to animadvert on these unfounded assertions which his Lordship has been deceived into the risking. How very ridiculous would the assertion be, that the Normans settled in England are now French Colonists! The man would be looked upon as insane, who should argue, that these Colonists, compared with the native Saxons and Britons, were only as one to six, and that therefore this Colony should agree to an Incorporating Union with France. Yet such argument would be as good as his Lordship's; for the Normans settled in England only one century earlier than the English settled in Ireland; and the Normans may more justly be said to have settled in England by conquest, than the English in Ireland. William, previous to his settlement in England, defeated the Saxon Monarch in a great and decisive battle. Henry the Second acquired Ireland without a blow. In truth, all such arguments are highly absurd. Different nations inhabiting the same territory for seven hundred years, as the Saxons and Normans; for six hundred years, as the English and Irish; under the same Government and Laws, must be so blended and mixed together, as to become one and the same nation: otherwise the inhabitants of the different districts of the habitable world might be said to be composed of different nations respectively, and the distinctions of different races subsist in the same country for ever. I must here observe,

serve, that publications, purporting to be Speeches spoken in the British Parliament, respecting Irish affairs, as well by the Members in Opposition as by some of His Majesty's Ministers and their friends, have had very bad effects in Ireland, and have been among the most prominent causes of the last Rebellion; holding out strong encouragements to Irish Romanists, and as it were stimulating them to insurrection, and inspiring them with the most flattering hope of success. It is sincerely to be wished, that at least the friends of Government in England were more circumspect and discreet in their assertions and positions respecting the state of Ireland, and somewhat better informed, before they venture to send abroad to the public, crude and ill-digested plans of projected innovations in that kingdom, and rash and ill-founded opinions concerning the political influence and power of the different classes of its inhabitants.

In the pamphlet entitled '*Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered*,' written, as generally reported, by an English Gentleman in a confidential office under the Government in Ireland, the following points, among others, are stated as proposed to be established by an Union: '*An Arrangement for the Roman Catholic Clergy, so as to put an end, if possible, to religious jealousies, and to ensure the attachment of that order of men to the State.—An Arrangement with respect to Tithes.*' And in page 30 of that excellent pamphlet entitled '*The Speech of the Right Honourable William Pitt in the British House of Commons*,' there is a passage which has given no small cause of alarm to Irish Protestants: the causes of complaint of Irish Romanists are therein styled *most*

goaded and oppressive; and the passage proceeds,—‘ with
 ‘ respect to the grievances of which the lower orders of
 ‘ the Catholics of Ireland complain, I do not at present
 ‘ purpose entering into the detail of the means which
 ‘ may be found to alleviate their distresses, *nor how far*
 ‘ *it is possible to give them relief on the subject of Tithes,*
 ‘ *or put it into their power to make a provision for the Clergy*
 ‘ *of their own Church.*’ Connecting this passage with
 the two points suggested by the above-mentioned pam-
 phlet, it would seem that the British Ministry had come
 to a resolution to give a national support to the Romish
 Irish Clergy, and that this support is to be extracted
 from that of the Parochial Protestant Clergy of Ireland,
 to wit, *the Tithes*, by assigning a portion of them to the
 Romish Clergy. I have already shown, that no part of
 the Tithes is really and *bonâ fide* paid out of the property
 of the Peasantry, but out of that of their Landlords;
 and that forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed estates
 belong to Protestants, and consequently that forty-nine
 parts out of fifty of the Tithes are really paid out of the
 property of Protestants. I have shown, that the Irish
 Protestant Clergy are not paid by the Romish Peasantry
 in general, more than one fifth part of the real value of
 the Tithes, though an abatement is made out of the rents
 of their farms nearly equal to the real value of them;
 so that the Peasantry really gain, instead of losing, by
 the lands being subject to Tithes. Is it therefore consist-
 ent with justice, leaving civil policy out of the question,
 to compel Irish Protestant Landlords to support Romish
 Priests for instructing their Tenantry in principles hostile,
 not only to the State, but to their personal safety indi-
 vidually? And is it reasonable that such support should
 be subtracted from the subsistence of the Protestant Pa-
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rochial Clergy, already sufficiently scanty? It must be observed here, that the Romish Parish Priests have in general a comfortable subsistence: they can afford to live as well as the great majority of the beneficed Protestant Clergy of Ireland. I have already shown the poor provision which is made for them; and the Curates of the established Church are in a worse situation, in point of subsistence, than the great majority of Romish Priests; nor is there at present any great prospect of materially bettering their condition; the narrow circumstances and scanty provision of the majority of the beneficed Clergy rendering any considerable increase of the stipends of Curates in general impracticable. The Protestant Clergy are mostly married men, and have families to support: the Romish Priests are bound to celibacy. I have already shown, that Romish Priests, from certain doctrines and ceremonies of their Religion, have ways and means of extracting money from those of their persuasion, which the Protestant Clergy have not. The former, 'throughout Europe, are complete adepts in the science of religious alchemy. A Romish Priest can procure a subsistence from a congregation of Romanists, when a Protestant Clergyman, with a congregation of Protestants equally numerous and wealthy, if bereft of Tithes, would starve. It is further to be considered, that the disaffection of the Romish Clergy, as well as Laity, arises from the principles of their Religion; and that it admits of no other cure than the change of these principles. Were the Romish Clergy in possession of the whole revenues of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland, it would not render them a whit less hostile to the Protestant Government. No argument for conferring on them a provision from the State can be deduced from the supposition,

position, *that the attachment of that order of men would be thereby ensured to the State.* Their hostility would in such case remain unchanged : their ability to exercise it more effectually would be increased. The Gentleman who has proposed this expedient, has, if I am rightly informed, documents in his possession sufficient to demonstrate that the Romish Priests throughout the kingdom were very active agents in the late Rebellion : many of them appeared openly in arms, and were generally the most blood-thirsty of the Insurgents. It is not a little surprising to observe, that a scheme for conferring public rewards and establishments on vanquished, yet irreclaimable Rebels, who so recently imbrued their hands in the blood of their loyal fellow-subjects, at the expense, and extracted from the pockets, of the surviving sufferers, should be proposed as one of the conditions of an Incorporating Union of Great Britain and Ireland ! And it is to be hoped that such scheme will be finally reprobated by the magnanimous British Minister, and by every Protestant in Great Britain and Ireland ; and that no new arrangements respecting Tithes will be introduced in Ireland, except such as shall be adopted in England ; and that the established Clergy of both kingdoms may be kept on the same footing. That great Minister, who may with propriety be styled the Atlas of Europe, is so fully engaged in business of the greatest moment to the Christian world, that he has not always sufficient leisure to examine minutely all the circumstances which must be considered in the progress of a Treaty of Union. His great and comprehensive mind entertains the general plan on an enlarged scale of public utility ; but he will not disdain to receive information from inferior understandings on points of moment, relating to the rights of considerable

considerable bodies of men, whose agency materially contributes to the existence of society, and whose security must be provided for in the treaty,—rights on which he may have yet cast but a transient glance, as a man surveying a region from a high mountain, views, with but little attention, inferior eminences.

I cannot help expressing my regret, that the spirit of Burkism, which has notoriously possessed some men of great power in England, seems to have made its way to the British Minister, so as to convey to him some very false information respecting Irish affairs. His styling the causes of complaint of Irish Romanists *most goading and oppressive*, convinces me that some impressions have been made upon him, not at all favourable to the true interests, not only of Irish, but of English Protestants. I cannot comprehend what *goading or oppressive cause of complaint* Irish Romanists labour under. They are on an exact level with Irish Protestants in the equal enjoyment of all civil privileges, except the capacity of sitting in Parliament and filling a few public offices, in whose department is lodged the Supreme Executive Power of the State. And how are they incapacitated? By their refusal to take the oaths and engagements for the security of the State, taken by all His Majesty's subjects who sit in Parliament or fill such offices. This incapacity is the only cause of complaint of Irish Romanists; and English Romanists have the very same cause of complaint. Is this a cause of complaint *most goading and oppressive*? Are the provisions of the English Act of the first of Elizabeth, of the Bill of Rights, the 1st of William and Mary, of the Test and Corporation Acts, of the 30th of Charles the Second, of the 1st of George the

First, of the Act ratifying the Articles of Union of England and Scotland, of all the similar Acts in Ireland, all already mentioned, goading and oppressive? I am convinced Mr. Pitt never intended to throw such a reflection, such a censure, on these Acts, allowed by all our ablest writers, and by all who are not Romanists or Jacobins, to be the bulwarks of the Constitution. I confess myself utterly unable to guess the meaning of the passage I have quoted, and would acknowledge great obligations to any person who would be kind enough to explain it to me.

I think this no improper place to give a short description, for the information of English Protestants, of the *magnificent seminary for the exclusive education of Romish Priests*, lately founded and established in Ireland by the *sole influence of the English Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, always the Irish Prime Minister.*

In the session of the Irish Parliament of the year 1795, a Bill was introduced by the Secretary into the House of Commons, entitled, 'An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion.' This Act empowered certain trustees, therein named, to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy, for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and to acquire lands exempt from forfeiture by mortmain, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds; and a clause was introduced at the end of it, for giving these trustees the sum of eight thousand pounds, out of the public money, as an aid to the undertaking. This Bill passed through the House, and was enacted into a law,

law, without opposition, and with little notice or discussion. The Secretary represented, that it was more the interest of the State to permit Romanists to found a seminary for the education of their youth at home, than, by refusing such permission, to incline them to send them abroad to foreign Romish seminaries; and that it was becoming the liberality of the nation to give them some aid towards the institution. These representations were plausible, and no Member of either House thought it a matter of sufficient importance to warrant an opposition, supposing the Romanists were to complete the business at their own costs; and that Parliament would hear no more of it. Mr. Hussey, already mentioned, a Romish Priest educated in Spain, and imported into Ireland during the short Lieutenancy of Earl Fitzwilliam, was, by the influence of the Secretary, appointed President of the Seminary: this man has been since appointed Bishop of Waterford, as he asserts, by the Pope, and has made himself very remarkable in Ireland, by the publication of a most inflammatory seditious pamphlet, under the title of a Pastoral Letter. The projectors of this scheme of a Romish Seminary, however, were determined not to let the Irish Parliament off on such cheap terms: the *English Secretary*, though a very honourable worthy man, seemed in every particular to be a staunch Burkist, or at least to be under the dominion of that sect of politicians; and, being the ostensible founder of the Seminary, he resolved it should not be left for its support to the casual benevolence of Irish Romanists, for whose use it was founded; he procured the payment to the trustees of large sums of money out of the public purse, amounting in the whole to near forty thousand pounds.

In every subsequent session, a regular charge of eight thousand pounds was made to Parliament for its annual support. The magnitude of this sum, for such a purpose, startled some of the Members of both Houses, and regular accounts and items of the establishment and expenditure were called for: and it appeared in the session of 1798, that not one penny had ever been received by the trustees, from any Romanist as a donation: that the establishment was for the exclusive education of two hundred students in Divinity only, as a source to furnish a perpetual supply of *two thousand Romish Priests to the Kingdom*: that each of these students was to be entertained in the Seminary for four years, and then priested, and sent abroad as an officiating Clergyman: that the annual sum of eight thousand pounds was required for the maintenance of them and their teachers; that is, these two hundred students were to be educated at an annual expense of forty pounds per head to the nation: that none of the Romish laity were to be admitted as students into this Seminary; which is neither more nor less than a most magnificent Romish Monastery, erected, and to be supported, by the Irish Protestant Parliament, within eleven miles of the city of Dublin, for the *sapient* purpose of training a perpetual body of two thousand missionaries to be dispersed through the nation, to propagate systematic doctrinal disaffection to the established Government in Church and State. Many Members of both Houses expressed their dislike of this institution; they did not fail to state to the Minister, that Parliament had been led into an acquiescence with the measure in its infancy, by great cunning and address; that the Bill, under the shade of which this noxious and unconstitutional weed had sprung up, did not

not warrant so dangerous an innovation ; that it only empowered Irish Romanists to found a Seminary at their own expense, for the education of their youth in general ; yet this was a Seminary founded, and to be supported, at the expense of the nation, for the exclusive education of Romish Priests : that it was evident the Romish Laity did not desire nor want such a Seminary, for they never had subscribed a shilling to its support ; and the University of Dublin had been opened to them for the education of their youth, by the Bill of 1793, in their favour. The English Secretary argued for the expediency of the institution, principally, almost entirely, *on the necessity, as he alledged, of a supply of Romish Priests for the nation* : he stated, that the Seminaries for the education of the Romish Priests in France and Flanders, had been destroyed by the Jacobins ; that Romish Priests required an education different from that of their Laity ; and that therefore this Seminary was properly appropriated to the exclusive education of Romish Priests. Many Members of the House could not comprehend the force of this argument : they could not understand how the destruction of Seminaries for the education of Romish Priests in Flanders or France, made it imperative on the State to provide for the education of a set of men, in principles of Religion, not only different from that of the State, but hostile to it ; and for the purpose of diffusing it. They conceived the destruction of such Seminaries to be advantageous to the State ; the establishment of similar ones in their own country, for the same purpose, highly pernicious. They could not comprehend the public utility of educating Romish youth, destined for the Ministry, in different schools from the lay youth of that persuasion : they knew it to
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be an old policy in the Court of Rome, to separate the Clergy from the Laity, in all concerns relating to private life, as much as possible; that it might attach the Clergy in all countries to its own particular interest: but they could not comprehend the necessity of their supporting such a political system. The Minister was very hard pushed in the year 1798, in carrying the grant of eight thousand pounds to his Monastery through the House; many of his most attached friends deserted, and left the House during the debate; he was obliged to send out his emissaries to rally his scattered troops; and he carried it at last by a reluctant majority in a very thin House, few more than forty Members being present. In the last session of the Irish Parliament, the new Minister introduced a Bill in the House of Commons, for a grant of a something less sum than eight thousand pounds to this Monastery; it passed the House, and went up to the Lords, where it was thrown out. It appeared on this occasion, that sixty-nine students only, instead of two hundred, were maintained in the house, notwithstanding the charge for the support of the full number was but little diminished. It was currently reported, and very generally believed, that about thirty-six Romish students from this Monastery, had, on the breaking out of the Rebellion, joined the Insurgents, and fought at Kilcock and other places against the King's troops. Certain it is, that sixteen or seventeen have been expelled from it on account of the Rebellion; but the Governors waited with *becoming prudence*, till the Rebellion was suppressed, before they executed this act of wholesome severity. Some of these rebellious students had been slain in action, and others had fled to escape punishment. Previous to the breaking out of the Rebellion,

bellion, a visitation had been held in Trinity College, Dublin, and seventeen students, all Romanists, except three or four reputed Protestants, to the best of my recollection, had been expelled by the Visitors; it being proved, that they had been seduced into that abominable traitorous association, called the Society of United Irishmen: one of the reputed Protestants was a brother of Mr. Emmet, a Member of the Irish Directory, now imprisoned at Fort George in Scotland. From what appeared before the Visitors, it was pretty evident, that Romanists had resorted to that College, particularly the sons of a leading Romish democrat, heretofore a very active Member of the Romish Convention in Dublin, for the sole purpose of diffusing the poison, and propagating the doctrines, of the United Irishmen through the College; and that the contagion was stopped in time, by the spirit and exertions of the Protestant students, through whose intervention the Visitors were called on for the exertion of their authority, to purge the College of such pestilent corruptions. When the new Minister found his Bill, for the grant of so large a sum of money to the Romish Seminary, was rejected by the House of Lords, he attempted to introduce another Bill for the same purpose, into the House of Commons; but this was rejected, conformably to the established usage of the House, which forbids the introduction of a new Bill, for the same purpose with a rejected one, in the same session. The new Minister, on the introduction of his second Bill, thought fit to advert to the visitation which had been held eight months before in the College of Dublin; and extolling, very justly, the conduct of one of the Visitors (without condescending to take the smallest notice of the conduct of the other, who had in every parti-

cular concurred with his colleague), he took occasion to acquaint the House, that the College of Dublin had been infected with the poison of treason; without any reason, visible to the generality of the Members, for the introduction of the visitation or the infection of the College of Dublin into his speech; with any part of which they had no apparent connexion: he also pathetically lamented the miscarriage of his Bill in the House of Lords; and particularly stated, *that Government would not let so useful an institution, as that of the Romish Monastery, fall to decay, for want of sufficient support.* I perfectly understood the Irish Minister's reason for introducing into his speech the visitation of the College of Dublin, and its infection: he feared the objections which might be made to the Romish Monastery, on the score of treason, and determined to obviate them, by stating that the Protestant College of Dublin had also been infected. But he omitted to state, that almost all the students expelled from the College of Dublin were Romanists, or had been shortly before so; and that the infection had been introduced by them: that the College of Dublin had near seven hundred students, seventeen only of whom were expelled, and that they were dragged to the visitatorial tribunal by the Protestant students: that the great mass of the students of Trinity College, Dublin, were eminently loyal: and that the Romish Monastery, whose students were secluded from the world, and therefore less liable to external infection, had but sixty-nine students, seventeen of whom were expelled for actual Rebellion, exclusive of those who were killed in action, or fled from the gallows. I never could discover the utility of the institution, as stated by the Minister; nor do I sufficiently understand, how Government can
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apply any part of the public treasure to its support, not only without the concurrence of Parliament, but contrary to its decision, by the rejection of the Bill for that purpose: I thought the Treasury was better guarded, than to admit of such an arbitrary disposition of any part of its contents. The annual income for the support of the University of Dublin does not amount to eight thousand pounds. A large part of this arises from private donations, the remainder from grants of the Crown of its own estates, and no part of it from Parliamentary grants of sums to be raised by taxes assessed on the subject. The monstrous provision required for the education and subsistence of two hundred Romish students, all paupers, will be more clearly understood, when I compare it with that which is provided for poor scholars in Trinity College, Dublin, most of whom are destined to the Protestant Ministry in Ireland. There are thirty fizers in the College of Dublin; these poor gentlemen have no provision whatsoever from the College, save their dinners, of the broken meat from the table of the fellows: they are obliged to provide their own chambers: there are seventy-two scholars of the house, thirty of whom enjoy what are called Natives' Places; the Natives have each a salary of twenty pounds per annum, and their dinners: the remaining forty-two scholars have four pounds per annum, and their dinners: they are both obliged to provide their own chambers. A scholarship is not attainable till the student is of two or three years standing, a Native's place not until he is of four: and both expire when the student attains the standing of a Master of Arts. The Romish poor scholars in the Monastery are magnificently lodged *gratis*, and maintained at a great expense in a

most plentiful manner: there is a provision for two hundred. How different are the establishments for the education of the Protestant and Romish Clergy in Ireland! And how infinitely superior is that of the latter class! This is one, and a very glaring effect of the spirit of *Burkism*, diffused among our rulers both in Great Britain and Ireland. There is no such magnificent foundation, in any College of the two famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for the education and subsistence of poor, or any students, as is made in this Romish Monastery, for the education and subsistence of these embryos of Romish Priests, destined for the propagation of doctrinal principles through the realm, subversive of the Constitution in Church and State!

I am now come to the last observation I shall make on the melancholy effects of the spirit of *Burkism* in the British Councils: I should indeed have been willing to omit it, from my respect to the great Personage, whose conduct I must necessarily advert to; but the transaction I am about to state, has become so public, and is of itself of so extraordinary a nature, so demonstrative of the deceptions practised in England by Mr. Burke's disciples, and the misinformation respecting the state of Ireland, which they find means to convey to great Ministers of State, and obtain credit for; that it cannot be omitted in a Tract, written with a view of opening the eyes of the British nation, and exposing to it the dangerous arts of the professors of *Burkism*, and the deplorable effects they are capable of producing.

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The county of Wexford, in which the late Rebellion burst out, suddenly and unexpectedly, with astonishing rapidity and fury, lies on the sea-coast opposite to Pembroke-shire in South Wales; it is almost entirely comprised in the diocese of Ferns. The Rebels in two days made themselves masters of almost the whole county, and particularly of the inland parts. I have already stated part of the barbarous massacres they committed on the Protestant inhabitants of that county in cold blood; and particularly their slaughter of all the Protestant Clergy who fell into their hands. At the first explosion, a few Protestant Clergymen, and other Protestant inhabitants, living near the sea-coast, finding their retreat into the country cut off, and hearing of the indiscriminate murder of all Protestants by the Rebels, hopeless of mercy, fled to the coast, threw themselves into the first boats they met with, almost all small yawls and skiffs, undecked, and furnished only with oars, and committed themselves to the waves of a very boisterous sea, to escape from their merciless pursuers. The Almighty God preserved the lives of these persecuted wanderers; they crossed the Channel safely, and landed in Pembroke-shire, with no other sustenance than what was contained in their pockets; and no clothes, but what they wore on their persons; and made their way to the town of Haverford West, destitute of all means of subsistence. Mr. John Colclough of Tintern Abbey, on the sea-coast of the county of Wexford, the second son of a respectable family in the county, and nephew to Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who acted in the capacity of Commissary General to the Rebel army, having a stout vessel of his own, put to sea on the breaking out of the Rebellion, and landed in Pembroke-

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shire, together with one Thomas M'Cord or M'Leard, a clerk whom he employed in a flour-mill, and they both repaired to the town of Haverford West. It appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Commons, that Mr. Colclough and his clerk were suspected to have been very active in promoting the Rebellion. (See Appendix to that Report, No. 35.) However, whether the suspicion was just or not, neither the one nor the other chose to join the Insurgents; for they quitted the country on the commencement of the Rebellion. Mr. Colclough was at the head of his family interest (his eldest brother being absent on the Continent), which was very considerable, and gave him a great influence among the lower orders in the county, particularly the Romish peasantry; and he might have been of great service in curbing the Rebellion, had he remained in the country, and been willing to exert himself in that respect: and he could have remained in the country with greater safety than other gentlemen, as well on account of his family influence, as that of his uncle, a Rebel General, and a man of great property. The Magistracy and inhabitants of Haverford West received the unfortunate fugitives with great charity and hospitality: they made subscriptions for their relief and support until they could procure supplies for their subsistence from Ireland. Mess. Jordan and Bowen, Magistrates of Haverford West, wrote an account of the arrival of these sufferers in their town, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, and probably solicited relief for them: to this application of these Magistrates, his Grace was pleased to return the following answer: which I here
insert,

insert, as it was published in the Dublin Journal, and several other Newspapers. It bears date the 22d of June 1798:

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letter on the subject of the late influx of persons in your county from Ireland, and am extremely sorry to observe that there are so many *young Clergymen and able-bodied men* among them. The conduct of such persons in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the present, is very much to be censured; and I desire that you will use your best endeavours to impress them with a due sense of the dangerous tendency of such an example, and of the dishonourable and disgraceful imputations to which it obviously exposes themselves: and at the same time that you will make known to the *Clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their respective diocesans*. With respect to *Mr. Colclough, and Mr. McCord*, I desire that they may have full liberty, either to go to Ireland, or to stay in the country; and that all persons for whom they will answer, as well as all the infirm men, women, and children, may be admitted to the same indulgence.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Whitehall, June 22d, 1798.

PORTLAND.

To Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, at Haverford West.

The county and the town of Wexford were rescued from the Rebels, about the time of the date of the Duke's letter. They were chased from them with considerable

slaughter : the Protestant Gentlemen of the county were summoned to a general meeting in the town of Wexford on the 7th of July 1798, by General Lake. A copy of the Duke's letter was laid before them ; they were all struck with amazement : and they determined unanimously to send a letter to the Duke on the subject, of which the following is a copy : it was signed by the High Sheriff of the county :

‘ The Committee of Gentlemen of the county of
 ‘ Wexford, appointed by General Lake, having read a
 ‘ copy of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland
 ‘ to Messrs. Bowen and Jordan, Magistrates in the town
 ‘ of Haverford West, South Wales, dated 22d June, ult.
 ‘ and which appears to have been in answer to a letter
 ‘ received by his Grace from those Gentlemen, cannot
 ‘ avoid testifying their hearty sorrow at the censure thrown
 ‘ upon the Clergy of their diocese in said letter, and their
 ‘ indignation at the gross misrepresentation which must
 ‘ have occasioned it. They are unanimous in a high
 ‘ opinion of the loyalty, patriotism, and proper conduct
 ‘ of the Clergy, and strongly feel the necessity of their
 ‘ flight and absence during the continuance of the Rebel-
 ‘ lion which so unhappily raged in this county ; as, had
 ‘ they not effected their escape, they have every reason to
 ‘ conclude that they would have shared a similar fate with
 ‘ those unhappy few of that body, who early fell into the
 ‘ hands of the Insurgents, and were afterwards massacred
 ‘ in cold blood.

‘ They lament, that men of such unblemished cha-
 ‘ racter and conduct, should, from the secret representa-
 ‘ tions of persons no way qualified, be proscribed that
 ‘ protection

‘ protection and asylum so liberally bestowed on the persons of *Mr. John Colclough* and *Thomas M^cCord*, men who were, and might have remained in perfect security in His Majesty’s fort at Duncannon, and whose characters are by no means free from imputation in this country, and on whom they are sorry to find such favour lavished by the *English Cabinet*, as they are certain no favourable account of their conduct could be made to Government save by themselves.

‘ EDWARD PERCIVALL,

‘ Sheriff, and Chairman of the Committee.

‘ *Wexford, July 7th, 1798.*

‘ *To his Grace the Duke of Portland, Whitehall.*’

To this letter, though written in the names of a great number of the most respectable Gentlemen in the county, and signed by the High Sheriff, his Grace, as I am informed, never condescended to return any answer,

The following paragraph was inserted in the *Waterford Newspaper* of July the 10th, 1798 :

‘ Yesterday *Mr. John Colclough* of *Tintern Castle*, county of *Wexford*, was brought here from *Milford*, in custody of two King’s messengers ; he was escorted by a party of the Union cavalry to *Thomas Town* on his way to *Dublin*. *Mr. M^cCord*, who was implicated in the charge for which the former was apprehended, had made off, but it is said that there was no probability of his avoiding the vigilance of his pursuers. *These are the two Gentlemen who were spoken so favourably of, in a*

‘ letter

‘ letter from the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Jordan and
 ‘ Bowen at Haverford West.

‘ CLERICUS WEXFORDIENSIS.’

His Grace the Duke of Portland is the chief of the family of Bentinck in England, which is originally Dutch; his Grace’s ancestor was the great favourite of King William the Third, our glorious deliverer from Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; he accompanied that great Prince to England, and received from him most bountiful rewards for his services, and most lavish marks of his favour. His Grace owes all his honours, all his great estates, to the Revolution of 1688; he enjoys, and holds them, if I may so say, by a Protestant tenure. His Grace is universally esteemed a Nobleman of great benevolence, and amply endowed with the social virtues. At the time he wrote this letter to the Magistrates of Haverford West, he was, as he now is, His Majesty’s principal Secretary of State for the Home Department; and consequently ought to have been well informed on points relating to the internal state, as well of Ireland, as of Great Britain. To what cause then can the writing of such a letter by his Grace, so unmeritedly reflecting on the conduct of Protestant Clergymen, be attributed? *Protestant Clergymen* in the most distressed situation that men could be reduced to! obliged to beg from strangers a morsel of bread, and a spot to lay their wearied limbs in! a letter proscribing all relief to *Protestant Clergymen*, obliged to fly, naked and destitute, from their homes, in open boats across the sea, and to brave all the perils of the deep, to escape from the ruthless daggers of infuriate Romish assassins; that relief which was so liberally and charitably afforded to *French Romish Priests* in similar circumstances! a letter enjoining their
Protestants

Protestant fellow-subjects to spurn *Protestant Clergymen* flying from massacre, and imploring protection, with contempt and reprobation from their doors! The cause is to be found in the indefatigable exertions of the disciples of the late Mr. Edmund Burke, and of himself whilst living, in infusing the poison of his Romish principles into the minds of his Grace, and of other great men in England: misrepresenting, traducing, and vilifying with unwearied and unceasing application, the whole Protestant system in Ireland. How powerful must the influence of *Burkism* be, when it could load the mild and benevolent disposition of his Grace with so uncharitable a bias! I have been for fifteen years last past Vicar General of the diocese of Ferns; I have therefore an opportunity of being well acquainted with the Clergy of it; and I never yet knew a set of men more orthodox, more pious, more charitable, more esteemed by their Protestant parishioners, and, as was generally supposed, by their Romish parishioners too, till the late Rebellion set fire to the mine of their irreclaimable hostility to what they are taught to repute Heresy. The Wexford Clergy were almost all resident in their respective parishes, and were regular in the discharge of their duty. But my testimony of their irreproachable and meritorious conduct is of very little consequence, when weighed with that of the great body of the Protestant Gentlemen of the county, their parishioners, and their attached friends, from a due sense and experience of their merits. His Grace's unwarrantable reflections on the conduct of the poor, distressed, despoiled, and exiled Protestant Clergy of Wexford in his letter, are not more wonderful, than his favourable recommendation of Messrs. Colclough and McCord to the Magistrates of Haverford West. Surely if the conduct of

the Clergy, in flying from their country in a season of Rebellion, was reprehensible; that of these two personages, particularly of the first, in abandoning their country at so critical a period, deserved infinitely more the censure of his Grace. They were both young men able to fight in defence of their lives and properties; and Mr. Colclough could have been of great service in extinguishing the flames of Rebellion in a very considerable part of the county of Wexford, had he been inclined to exert himself for that purpose; and they could both have remained at home with much less hazard to their persons or properties, than the Protestant Clergy. His Grace's favour to these two men must have arisen from the same source with his reprobation of the conduct of the Wexford Clergy. And I do presume most humbly to suggest to his Grace, the justice and propriety of reviewing his own conduct on this occasion; and examining into the sources of that misinformation, which led his Grace to adopt a proceeding so opposite to the general operations of his Grace's humanity, so very distressing to the innocent and oppressed objects of his Grace's censure, and so grating to the feelings of every loyal Protestant subject of the British Empire.

I will conclude with expressing a wish, that the influence of *Burkism* may receive an effectual and timely check, as well in Great Britain as in Ireland: and that all disgraceful and pitiful intrigues with an Irish Romish faction, in itself utterly inefficient, either for the promotion or obstruction of an Incorporating Union of the two nations, and highly offensive to the loyal Protestant subjects of His Majesty in Ireland, may be speedily and for ever abandoned: and that the patronage by British

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Statesmen of such mischievous, desperate projects as Lord Minto's, which, if at all practicable, would be subversive of the Constitution in Church and State, in both countries, may not be made a powerful objection to that most effective of all measures, which can be ever proposed for the aggrandizement of the British Empire, and the mutual benefit of both countries—an INCORPORATING UNION.

PATRICK DUIGENAN.

Dublin, September 20th, 1799.

P. S. My original design was, to present to the British Ministry, and to the English nation in general, a fair and just picture of the Present Political State of Ireland; which seems to have, for some time past, been exposed to their view in very false and deceptive colours. I conceived that such a performance might be of use in the arrangement of measures, which must precede and introduce an Incorporating Union of the two nations. I am a man attached to no party, unless my steady adherence to the principles of the Constitution of the British Empire in Church and State, be considered as attachment to a party. I am neither placed nor pensioned, but I am a loyal Protestant subject of His Majesty. I have explicitly expressed my *opinion* respecting an Incorporating Union, though I have offered no *arguments* on the question, as it has been already fully canvassed in many able publications both in England and Ireland; amongst which, I particularly recommend to the perusal of such as are desirous of good information on the subject, two pamphlets: the one containing

taining ‘ *The Speech of William Smith, Esq. on the Debate of the Question of Union in the Irish House of Commons,*’ particularly that part of it which relates to the Competency of Parliament: the other, the same Gentleman’s ‘ *Review*’ of the pamphlet containing ‘ *The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons:*’ infinitely the most formidable adversary of an Union, and one of the ablest men in Ireland. These two pamphlets I look upon as capital performances. In the latter, the author, who is a young man, has combated with great vigour the arguments of the well-informed veteran politician.

A P P E N D I X,

No. 1.

Calculation of the Number of Inhabitants in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM PETTY surveyed the whole kingdom of Ireland with amazing accuracy (as may be seen by his Map preserved in the Surveyor-general's office), shortly before the Restoration in 1660, by order of the then Irish Government. In his 'Political Anatomy' he states the whole population of Ireland in 1672, sixteen years antecedent to the commencement of the Revolution war, to amount to one million one hundred thousand.

Dean Swift, in his second Drapier's Letter, published in 1724, states, that the inhabitants of Ireland, by the largest computation, then amounted to one million and a half only.

In 1732, an enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland was made by order of Government, and they were found to be under two millions.

Mr. Bushe, a Member of the Irish House of Commons, has given an account of the number of houses in Ireland,
calculated

calculated from the hearth-money books in 1791 ; with other documents for enumerating the inhabitants of Ireland.

Mr. Chalmers, from the documents furnished by Mr. Bushe, calculates the number of inhabitants of Ireland in 1791 to amount to four millions two hundred thousand ; and from thence deduces, that they have been nearly quadrupled in the course of one hundred years since the Revolution. (See ' Chalmers's Estimate,' page 222, 223.)

With this last calculation I cannot agree, for the following reasons :

1st. Mr. Chalmers, who has taken great pains to ascertain the population of England and Wales, computes that population at the time of the Revolution to have amounted to nearly seven millions (Estimate, page 58) ; and the population in the year 1794 to amount to nearly eight millions and a half (Estimate, page 220) : and consequently, that England and Wales have increased in population only one million and a half in one hundred years. In his quotation from Mr. Wallace it is laid down, that the distressed circumstances of mankind disabling them to provide for a family, check very greatly the increase of population (Estimate, page 221) : and he states, that when England was a country of shepherds and warriors, she was inconsiderable in numbers ; that when manufacturers found their way into the country, when husbandmen gradually acquired greater skill, and when the spirit of commerce at length actuated all, people, as it were, grew out of the earth, amidst convulsions, famine, and warfare ; that England can scarcely be regarded as a manufacturing
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and commercial country at the Revolution, when contrasted with her present prosperity in manufacture and trade. (Estimate, page 212, 213.) Ireland, during the whole period from the Revolution to the present day, when manufactures and commerce are little more than in their dawn, that dawn itself only commencing in the year 1782, when the shackles on her commerce were taken off, may be said to have been a country of shepherds and warriors. The whole kingdom, part of the province of Ulster excepted, in which the linen manufacture has for some years flourished (and which also has been doubled in the last ten years), being almost destitute of agriculture and manufactures, and inhabited chiefly by herdsmen; a peasantry, as poor and miserable as any in Europe, for want of employment, and always furnishing the armies of foreign Potentates, as well as those of Great Britain, with multitudes of soldiers, and all foreign nations, particularly America, with crowds of emigrants: England, at the same time, constantly increasing in manufactures and commerce, and her people so fully employed, that the nation has frequently complained of want of hands to execute the various works in which they were engaged. From all which, I think it not only improbable, but impossible, that Ireland can have quadrupled her population since the Revolution, and that England and Wales should not, in the same space of time, have increased their population even by a fourth part.

2dly. I think the calculation made by Mr. Chalmers, from the documents afforded by Mr. Bushe, of the numbers in each house, is too great; in particular, the calculation of six persons to a house of one hearth: not more than four, if so many, should be allowed. The
inhabitants

inhabitants of such houses cannot be supposed to maintain servants; they consist of a man, his wife, and children, when fully inhabited; often of widows and children. The Irish inhabitants of such houses send off their children as servants or labourers the moment they are able to gain any kind of subsistence, their extreme poverty disabling them to maintain a family.

3dly. I am inclined to think that there is some error in the calculation of the number of houses in the nation, and that they do not amount to so many as Mr. Bushe has computed them to be.

4thly, and lastly. The superficial contents of the island of Great Britain are to those of Ireland in the proportion of three and a half to one. I conjecture, from the inspection of the maps, that the superficial contents of Scotland, with its islands, are pretty much the same with those of Ireland, perhaps they a little exceed them: England and Wales must be therefore more than twice as large as Ireland. I appeal to every intelligent man who has travelled over the two nations, whether the local population of England and Wales be not vastly greater than that of Ireland. If England and Wales have mountains and wastes, Ireland has her mountains, wastes, bogs, lakes, and morasses, of much greater extent, comparatively speaking, than England and Wales; and in the inhabited parts of the two nations the populousness of England and Wales exceeds that of Ireland in a very great ratio. I fancy Mr. Chalmers, whose researches, accuracy, and judgment, do him infinite honour, never travelled through Ireland, particularly through the provinces of Connaught, Munster, and Leinster; if he had, he
never

never could have been induced to believe that Ireland contained upwards of four millions of inhabitants, and England and Wales only double that number. One thing I will venture to assert, either that the calculation of the number of inhabitants of England and Wales falls vastly short of the real number, or that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland is grossly exaggerated: and that if Ireland contains upwards of four millions of inhabitants, England and Wales contain at least twelve millions. I have a much better opinion of the accuracy of Mr. Chalmers's calculations, and the authenticity of his documents, than of those of Mr. Bushe; and am myself decidedly of opinion, that the number of the inhabitants of Ireland has been exaggerated; and particularly, because I have known it to be a custom in Ireland, for gentlemen, who have assumed the title of Patriots, constantly to exaggerate the strength and importance of Ireland, with a view of bearding Great Britain; and they have, in the fashion of Falstaff, increased *their men in buckram* by upwards of one million, in my own recollection. A sort of inferior Member of this class of politicians, and an United Irishman, lately published a pamphlet in Dublin, relating to the health of the Citizens, and means of preserving it, in which he asserts, transiently as it were, that the inhabitants of Dublin amount to four hundred thousand, though I never before heard them computed at a greater number than one hundred and fifty thousand, and they are certainly under two hundred thousand. I am myself of opinion that the whole inhabitants of Ireland do not amount to more than three millions, if to so many.

Relative Numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland.

Sir William Petty, in his 'Political Anatomy,' states the proportion of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland to be as three to eight, in the year 1672, sixteen years before the Revolution, so that at that time the Irish Protestants amounted to more than one third of the inhabitants of the country. In the year 1732, an accurate enumeration was made by order of Government of all the families in Ireland, distinguishing the Protestant families from the Romish in each Province, and a calculation was made from thence of the numbers of the Protestant and Romish inhabitants of Ireland: it was printed in Dublin in the year 1736, and reprinted in 1788. It appears from that calculation, that in the year 1732 the number of Protestant inhabitants was to that of the Romish in the proportion of one to two and a half. Dr. Burke, Romish titular Bishop of Ossory, wrote a book in Latin, which he entitled, 'Hibernia Dominicana;' it was printed at Brussels in the year 1762; and he particularly states, that an actual enumeration was made of the numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland in the year 1731, and that there were found to be then in the kingdom seven hundred thousand four hundred and fifty-three Protestants; and one million three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight Romanists: so that the proportion of Romanists and Protestants was not in the year 1731 quite two to one, according to Dr. Burke. It is very likely that this Romish Bishop had very accurate information of the relative numbers, perhaps better than that which could be deduced from the documents stated in the pamphlet containing the calculation made in 1732. Dr. Burke also states, that the proportion had much increased on

on the Protestant side, between the year 1731 and the year 1762, when he wrote, by the operation of the Popery Code, and the Protestant Charter-schools, and makes grievous complaints of the increase of Heretics, as he styles Protestants. The Popery Code continued in full vigour till the year 1776, and its operation, together with the Charter-schools, must have increased the proportion on the Protestant side. There is a modern document which must have great weight in this question, taken from the numbers of beggars admitted into the House of Industry in Dublin, for a course of six years, beginning with the year 1784, and ending with the year 1789; and their respective religious persuasions.

This House of Industry is a general receptacle for all beggars which flock into Dublin from all parts of Ireland, for there are no poor rates in Ireland. Divine service is performed separately in this receptacle for persons of the two persuasions, and chaplains are retained for each by the Corporation.

Numbers admitted.

	Protestants.	Romanists.
In 1784	696	1870
In 1785	768	2435
In 1786	1794	2912
In 1787	1493	3341
In 1788	854	3643
In 1789	798	3615
Sum total	6403	17,816

The Romish beggars admitted during a course of six years, did not exceed the Protestant beggars in the proportion of three to one. The House of Industry is filled with

with the lowest class; and as the property in the hands of Irish Protestants is to that in the hands of Irish Romanists as thirty-nine to one, the proportion of beggars on the side of Irish Romanists to those on the Protestant side, must vastly exceed the proportion of Romanists and Protestants in the nation at large. Besides, although wandering beggars flock to Dublin from all parts of the kingdom, the fewest certainly come from the northern counties, which abound most with Protestants; for having a flourishing manufacture, these counties send forth fewest beggars. From all these documents it may be fairly concluded, that Irish Romanists exceed Irish Protestants in number throughout the whole kingdom in no greater proportion than that of two to one, perhaps in a much less.

The Romish Convention in Dublin, in the year 1792, first broached the positions, that Irish Romanists exceeded Irish Protestants in the proportion of three to one, and that the gross number of the inhabitants amounted to four millions; consequently, that the Romanists amounted to three millions. * They never produced any document on which they pretended to found a calculation; however, they then admitted that Irish Protestants amounted to one million. It is remarkable that this Convention never scrupled to advance and publish any falsehood whatsoever, which they thought might be of advantage to their cause; of which their petition to His Majesty is a very prominent instance.

Comparative Property of Irish Protestants and Romanists.

The first reasonable ground of calculation of the comparative property of Irish Protestants and Romanists,

must be taken from the quantity of landed estates in the hands of the members of each persuasion respectively ; and this is the surest ground of calculation in a country like Ireland, which is only just beginning to be a commercial country, and has as yet made no great progress. To make a true estimate in this respect, we must go back to the time of James the First. In his reign, six whole counties, out of nine contained in the province of Ulster, were forfeited to the Crown for treason: the King granted a great part of these counties to English and Scotch Protestants. These grants made a great addition to the landed estates at that time in the hands of Protestants; and the Grantees being infinitely more industrious than the former possessors, such of the ancient inhabitants as retained their estates by the favour of the Crown, in these six counties, and the same class throughout the whole province of Ulster, being a barbarous race, unused to industry, and addicted to luxury and gluttony, particularly to an immoderate thirst for strong liquors, wasted their properties, contracted large debts, and sold great portions of their estates to their industrious and frugal Protestant neighbours in that province, before the great Irish Rebellion in 1641. Their poverty, the consequence of their own idleness and dissipation, and their envy of the prosperity of their Protestant neighbours, the fruit of their frugality and industry, are assigned as some of the causes of that horrid Rebellion and Massacre. The whole mass of Irish Romanists throughout the nation engaged in this Rebellion of 1641; and when it was at length suppressed, almost the whole of the landed estates in the hands of Irish Romanists, at the time of its commencement, were forfeited to the Crown, and parcelled out among Protestants. These forfeitures, with

the landed estates in the hands of Protestants at the commencement of the Rebellion, amounted to five sixths of the whole landed property of the nation. The Irish Romanists in a mass again rebelled in the year 1699. After a war which lasted three years with uncommon fury, they were subdued; but obtained conditions, by which they were at liberty to remain in Ireland, and retain their estates, on the terms of their submission to the new Government under King William and Queen Mary, and taking the Oath of Allegiance; or of transporting themselves to France, and relinquishing their estates as forfeitures. Almost the whole body of Romanists then entitled to estates in Ireland, chose rather to go to France and abandon their estates, than submit to the Government and take the Oath of Allegiance. They entertained strong hopes of a new revolution in their favour, in which they were disappointed. The estates thus abandoned to forfeiture were granted by the Crown to Protestants. By the several means before mentioned, almost the whole landed property in Ireland became vested in Protestants. That part of the Popery Code which prohibited Irish Romanists to acquire landed property was enacted in the second year of Queen Anne (1703), shortly after the Revolution. It was afterwards strengthened by the eighth of Anne (1709), and was not materially relaxed, so as to allow them to purchase estates in fee, till the year 1782. In all the intermediate space, being eighty years, Romanists had the liberty of alienating the small pittance of landed property which remained in their hands after the Revolution, which they did not fail to make a liberal use of; but no liberty of acquisition: and during the eighteen years last past, they have had neither property, time, nor opportunity

to purchase or acquire any considerable portion of landed estates, so as materially or sensibly to diminish the mass of landed property in the hands of Irish Protestants at large. And from all the causes before mentioned it is certain, that the allowance of one fiftieth part of the landed property of the nation to the share of Irish Romanists, at the present day, is rather too great.

The small proportion of personal property in the hands of Irish Romanists, when compared with that in the possession of Irish Protestants, may be estimated from the following facts: About sixteen years ago, when a national Bank was established in Ireland, the capital proposed was six hundred thousand pounds. The Irish Romanists subscribed as much of this capital as they could raise, with a hope of engrossing to themselves the whole direction of the Bank, and thereby gaining a powerful influence to their party; yet the whole body was not then able to subscribe a larger part of this capital than sixty thousand pounds, one tenth of it! One argument strongly relied upon for the propriety of repealing that part of the Popery Code which forbade the acquisition of landed estates by Romanists, and that which had most weight with many Members of Parliament in that transaction, was, that if Romanists were allowed to buy estates, the rates of purchase of lands would be doubled, from the vast number of Romish buyers (represented as possessed of great personal property), which would then flock into the land market. They have had liberty to purchase estates these eighteen years past. When they obtained that liberty, fee-simple estates in Ireland, though leased to tenants for long terms of years, and consequently not likely to increase in value, were sold at the

rate of from twenty-three to twenty-five years purchase; at present they do not bring a greater price than eighteen years purchase; and they have been gradually sinking in value from the time the Romanists obtained the permission to purchase; a demonstration, that the number of purchasers in the land market did not much increase by that permission, and that the personal riches of Irish Romanists were imaginary. Since the free trade was granted to Ireland in the year 1782, some Irish Romanists have acquired considerable fortunes in trade; but several Irish Protestants have also acquired large fortunes in the same time, by the same means; so that it is pretty clear, that the personal estates of Irish Romanists, in the mass, do not amount to more than the twentieth part of the personal property of the nation, if to so much.

It is proper here to insert an account of a very extraordinary and artful attempt at procuring a fraudulent and garbled enumeration of the numbers of Protestants and Romanists in Ireland, and giving it a credit and authenticity; which was made in the year 1795, and which ought to put Irish Protestants on their guard, and render them more vigilant in defeating such attempts for the future.

In the year 1786, a society was formed in Ireland, and incorporated by patent, styled the Royal Irish Academy. A great number of the first characters in the kingdom in rank and property are members of this Academy; Lords, Privy Counsellors, Bishops, and distinguished Commoners. It is of the same nature with the Royal Society in England. It has been instituted for the advancement of the studies of Science, Polite Literature, and

and Antiquities. As societies formed on the Continent, nominally for similar purposes, were perverted into engines for the subversion of the respective Governments under which they were established, one of which was the Society of Economists in France; and as the justly admired, celebrated, and learned Author of the '*Pursuits of Literature*' has hinted, that attempts have been made to distort some of the publications of the Royal Society in London to political and factious purposes, by some busy Romanists, under the veil of gratifying public curiosity by researches into antiquities; so some of the most factious of the Romanists of Ireland, and desperate Jacobins their allies, soon directed their attention to this Society, and endeavoured, with too much success, to get themselves admitted members of it; and I have read with amazement the names of Dr. M'Nevin, and others of rather worse and more dangerous characters, in the list of the members of this Society. It is an observation of Dean Swift, that men of ability often, from a listless inactivity, resign their pretensions to *vigilant dunces, who are sure never to be out of the way*. A similar observation is applicable to men of great rank and character in societies such as I am adverting to. From business, from inattention, and other causes, they are frequently found almost to abandon the meetings of these societies, and resign the management of them to *vigilant Jacobins, who are sure never to absent themselves*; giving them thus an opportunity of perverting the professed purposes of such societies to their own factious plans and designs, and stamping their frauds with the credit of great names. Thus it has happened in this Society. Dr. Priestley, as well as I recollect, coined the word Statistical. He was desirous of subverting the Constitution in Church and State, and

with that view endeavoured to encourage all Dissenters to enter into a general confederacy for the purpose, and proceeded in the execution of that scheme, by selecting such parts of England as abounded most with them, and numbering the inhabitants, with the different modes of their religious worship, to show that the number of inhabitants of the established Religion was not equal to that of Dissenters of all denominations. For this purpose he put forward what he called *Statistical* Inquiries in particular places, such as Birmingham, &c.; and to give an importance to his seditious operations, and to disguise them as the mere speculative pursuits of a philosopher, he coined the quaint term *Statistical*; a *Statistical Inquiry*, in the vulgar tongue, signifying nothing more than an *Inquiry into the State*. This mode of inquiry has been taken up since in England by a respectable Baronet, I believe for laudable purposes. The Romanists and Jacobins in the Royal Irish Academy procured a Committee of Statistical Inquiry to be appointed by the Society (the Members probably of their own nomination), for the enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, distinguishing the religious persuasion of each person. A Form was printed by this Committee, in columns, directing the mode in which the returns of the number, religion, and occupations of the inhabitants of each parish, barony, county, and diocese in the kingdom, was to be made; and by the printed Form it appears, that the whole was to have been executed by the Romish Parish Priests throughout the kingdom. When the Romish Priest of each parish had fabricated his statistical account of the numbers, religion, and occupation of the inhabitants of his parish, he was to show it (if he thought fit) to the Protestant or Dissenting Minister of the

the parish, and request his signature. This Committee well knew, that not one Protestant Minister in one hundred would sign such an account, made up by the Romish Priest. The printed Form also contained a Resolution of this Committee, to apply to the Romish titular Bishops, requesting their assistance in making this statistical inquiry, and the Copy of a Letter to be written by them respectively to each of their subordinate Priests. The Committee managed the whole business in the Society.

This was a scheme equally fraudulent and dangerous, calculated by the original projector or projectors for the mere purpose of sapping the Protestant interest in Ireland. The Committee for Statistical Inquiries passed over the Protestant Ministers, and selected the Romish Priests throughout the kingdom, to make this inquiry, well knowing that they would make returns in the same spirit with Hufley, titular Bishop of Waterford, who stated, in a seditious pamphlet published by him, that Irish Romanists exceeded Irish Protestants in the kingdom at large, in the proportion of ten to one; and in that of one hundred to one in the diocese of Waterford; A most impudent falsehood! The Protestants, as appears by the printed Form, were to be subdivided by the Romish Priests into different sects, such as Protestants, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, &c. so as to make the numbers of each sect, when compared with the Romanists, appear in a diminished ratio; and to withdraw the attention of those, into whose hands the publication of the result of the statistical inquiry should come, from the sum total of the Protestants, and to fix it on the aggregate exaggerated number of Romanists; though, as Romanists consider all who are not of their communion

to be Heretics, and are equal enemies to them all, in comparing the relative numbers of Irish Protestants and Romanists, all persons who are not Romanists, are justly to be accounted on the Protestant side ; it being equally the interest of them all to oppose the persecuting spirit of Popery, the common enemy. The time of instituting this inquiry is worthy of remark. The Resolution of the Committee to employ the Romish Priests in the business, in the printed Form in my possession, bears date June 20th, 1795, the very time when the Romanists throughout the kingdom were busily employed in preparing for a general Insurrection, and, as they styled it, organizing their army ; and the result of such an inquiry made by the Romish Priests throughout the nation, but published under the sanction and authority of so respectable a body as the Royal Irish Academy, as a mere philosophical transaction, detached from all suspicion of party intrigue, the projectors knew would give mighty encouragement to the Insurrection, by the false and inflated account of the numbers and strength of Irish Romanists, when compared with the dwarfish representation of their opponents, which they knew would be contained in it. This would add to the confidence of the Rebels, and depress the spirits of the loyal inhabitants. The projectors also knew, that such a fraudulent inquiry would have a strong effect in Great Britain in their favour, in the event either of the success or suppression of the Rebellion.

It is not generally known how far this inquiry has been proceeded on ; but this is certain, that, antecedent to the Rebellion, several persons who joined in it, and some of whom were slain in the progress of it, others hanged

hanged on its suppression, and some who have been acquitted on trials for treason by the provisions of the Amnesty Bill, were very active in making the inquiry, and proceeded on it under the form prescribed by the Committee for Statistical Inquiry. Perhaps the respectable Members of the Society have been awakened from their slumbers by the dangerous and fraudulent tendency of the measure, and have defeated the project.

No. 2.

Extract from the Irish Act of the 33d of His present Majesty (1793), entitled, 'An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.'

SECT. IX.

PROVIDED always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom; Lord High Chancellor; or Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this Kingdom; Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper
of

of the Privy Seal, Vice-treasurer, Teller or Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, Member of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Prime Serjeant, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Second and Third Serjeants at Law, or King's Counsel, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth near Dublin, Postmaster-general, Master and Lieutenant-general of His Majesty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any County in this Kingdom, or any office contrary to the rules, orders, and directions made and established by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in pursuance of the Act passed in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of King Charles the Second, entitled, *An Act for explaining some Doubts arising upon an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better Execution of His Majesty's gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventurers, Soldiers, and other his Subjects there;' and for making some Alterations of, and Additions unto, the said Act, for the more speedy and effectual Settlement of this Kingdom; unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required, to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.*

No. 3.

*Extract from Blackstone's Commentaries, 4th vol. page 57,
Octavo Edition.*

THE better to secure the established Church against perils from Non-conformists of all denominations, Infidels, Turks, Jews, Heretics, Papists, and Sectaries, *there are two bulwarks erected, called the Corporation and Test Acts.* By the former of which no person can be legally elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation, unless, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England; and he is enjoined to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, at the same time that he takes the Oath of Office; or in default of either of these requisites, his election shall be void. The other, called the *Test Act*, directs all Officers, civil and military, to take the Oaths, and make the Declaration against Transubstantiation, in the Court of King's Bench or Chancery, the next term, or at the next quarter-sessions, or within six months after their admission; and also within the same time to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, in some public church, immediately after divine service and sermon, and to deliver into Court a certificate thereof, signed by the Minister and Churchwardens; and also to prove the same by two credible witnesses, upon forfeiture of 500*l.* and disability to hold the office.

P. S. Test Act passed in the 13th of Charles II. c. 1.
Corporation Act in the 25th of Charles II. c. 2.

THE END.

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